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FOR A UNITED INDIA

SPEECHES OF SARDAR PATEL
1947-1950

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P R E F A C E

This is an enlarged edition of the collection of Sardar Patel's speeches published in 1949 under the title 'On Indian Problems'. It contains, besides most of the speeches included in the first edition, some of the major speeches and statements made by him during the years 1949 and 1950. The speeches have been grouped under relevant sections and arranged chronologically.

It was an eventful period of modern Indian history during which the speeches were made. The 560-odd princely States, representing so many different authorities, were being integrated into the Indian Union. The administrative machinery was being re-organised and strengthened following the dislocation caused by the departure of a large number of senior officers. The productive apparatus which had suffered severely was being set in order. Millions of refugees were pouring into India from Pakistan and many were migrating from here. These and many other challenges the newly independent country had to face. In this task of unification and consolidation of the country and laying of a firm basis for orderly progress, Sardar Patel had a unique role to play.

While they are important as a record of those stirring events, many of the speeches have a great measure of relevance to our present situation.

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THE STATES

NO IMPASSABLE BARRIERS

IT was announced some days back that the Government of India had decided to set up a Department to conduct their relations with the States in matters of common concern. This Department has come into being today and the States have been informed to this effect. On this important occasion I have a few words to say to the Rulers of Indian States among whom I am happy to count many as my personal friends.

It is the lesson of history that it was owing to her politically-fragmented condition and our inability to make a united stand that India succumbed to successive waves of invaders. Our mutual conflicts and internecine quarrels and jealousies have in the past been the cause of our downfall and our falling victims to foreign domination a number of times. We cannot afford to fall into those errors or traps again. We are on the threshold of independence. It is true that we have not been able to preserve the unity of the country entirely unimpaired in the final stage. To the bitter disappointment and sorrow of many of us some parts have chosen to go out of India and to set up their own Government. But there can be no question that despite this separation a fundamental homogeneity of culture and sentiment reinforced by the compulsive logic of mutual interests would continue to govern us. Much more would this be the case with that vast majority of States which, owing to their geographical contiguity and indissoluble ties, economic, cultural and political, must continue to maintain relations of mutual friendship and co-operation with the rest of India. The safety and preservation of these States as well as of India demand unity and mutual co-operation between its different parts.

When the British established their rule in India, they evolved the doctrine of Paramountcy which established the

Statement of policy governing the princely States, New Delhi, July 5, 1947.

supremacy of British interests. That doctrine has remained undefined to this day, but in its exercise there has undoubtedly been more subordination than co-operation. Outside the field of Paramountcy there has been a very wide scope in which relations between British India and the States have been regulated by enlightened mutual interests. Now that British rule is ending, the demand has been made that the States should regain their independence. In so far as Paramountcy embodied the submission of States to foreign will, I have every sympathy with this demand, but I do not think it can be their desire to utilise this freedom from domination in a manner which is injurious to the common interests of India or which militates against the ultimate Paramountcy of popular interests and welfare or which might result in the abandonment of that mutually useful relationship that has developed between British India and Indian States during the last century. This has been amply demonstrated by the fact that a great majority of Indian States has already come into the Constituent Assembly. To those who have not done so, I appeal that they should join now.

This country, with its institutions, is the proud heritage of the people who inhabit it. It is an accident that some live in the States and some in British India, but all alike partake of its culture and character. We are all knit together by bonds of blood and feeling no less than of self-interest. None can segregate us into segments; no impassable barriers can be set up between us. I suggest that it is therefore better for us to make laws sitting together as friends than to make treaties as aliens. I invite my friends, the Rulers of States and their people, to the councils of the Constituent Assembly in this spirit of friendliness and co-operation in a joint endeavour, inspired by common allegiance to our mother-land for the common good of us all.

There appears to be a great deal of misunderstanding about the attitude of the Congress towards the States. I should like to make it clear that it is not the desire of the Congress to interfere in any manner whatever with the

domestic affairs of the States. They are no enemies of the Princely Order, but, on the other hand, they wish them and their people under this aegis all prosperity, contentment and happiness. Nor would it be my policy to conduct the relations of the new Department with the States in any manner which savours of the domination of one over the other ; if there would be any domination, it would be that of our mutual interests and welfare. We have no ulterior motive or selfish interests to serve. Our common objective should be to understand each other's point of view and come to decisions acceptable to all and in the best interests of the country. With this object, I propose to explore the possibility of associating with the administration of the new Department a Standing Committee representative of both the States and British India.

We are at a momentous stage in the history of India. By common endeavour we can raise the country to a new greatness while lack of unity will expose us to fresh calamities. I hope the Indian States will bear in mind that the alternative to co-operation in the general interest is anarchy and chaos which will overwhelm great and small in a common ruin if we are unable to act together in the minimum of common tasks. Let not the future generation curse us for having had the opportunity but having failed to turn it to our mutual advantage. Instead, let it be our proud privilege to leave a legacy of mutually beneficial relationship which would raise this sacred land to its proper place amongst the nations of the world and turn it into an abode of peace and prosperity.

KNOTTY PROBLEMS

IT is a great source of satisfaction to me and a real pleasure that the Thakore Saheb was good enough to write to me only this morning that he had issued instructions to his Dewan to implement the agreement which had been

Speech at a public meeting, Rajkot, November 12, 1947

State on a plate after all the misdeeds of himself and his other officers and their desertion of the people. We have said more than once that the final arbiters on this issue are the people and it is by their verdict that we shall be guided. I can assure everybody that the verdict would be a real verdict ascertained in a truly democratic manner. We cannot imitate the methods which Pakistan utilized in forcing a decision in Kashmir.

On the general question of responsible Government in the States, I must say that as one who has done more than anyone else to preserve the true rights of the Princes, I feel the Princes can survive only as trustees of the people.

Let them not heed any false or fraudulent advice which interested persons engaged in the pursuit of selfish ends might offer them. Instead, let them carry the people with them. Princes and people belong to one family and their best and mutual interest lies in remaining as a family rather than behaving as foes. But at the same time it is the duty of the people to prove themselves worthy of the great responsibility which a democratic regime entails.

Remember how Cochin had seen recently the farthest advance yet made on the road to responsible Government but how, despite the full co-operation of the Ruler, the responsible Government in the State came to grief.

I have a special word of advice to say to Hindus and Muslims of Kathiawar. I recall how in the past Muslims of Kathiawar contributed to the League's "Two-Nation Theory" propaganda and how they took part in League politics. But I have forgotten the past which is dead and gone if only they will treat it as such. But if they still feel an attachment to the "Two-Nation Theory" and look to an outside power, they have no place in Kathiawar.

It was to put an end to this dual loyalty that we agreed to create Pakistan so that those who preferred to abide in that faith can find a place where they can pursue it. In India, there is no place for such persons. If they stay in India, it can only be as loyal citizens; otherwise they have to be treated as foreigners with all the attendant disabilities. They should live in India like brothers and in harmony

with non-Muslims.

I call upon Hindus to follow Mahatma Gandhi in his creed of non-violence. Recent disturbances have disgraced India in the eyes of the world and it is for us to win back our lost reputation by correct behaviour and noble conduct. At the same time I deplore the tendency to get panicky. If we have to die, we must die like brave men. As human beings with a sense of human dignity, we cannot die crying.

I want Hindus and Muslims to forget the past and to live happily together. To make it possible, let Muslims in India search their conscience and ascertain if they are really loyal to this country. If they are not, let them go to the country which claims their allegiance.

Finally, I feel I should make it clear to you all that there is no question of India being unable to face up to the threats which have been held out. Pakistan's actions are probably prompted by the feeling that India is in trouble and therefore fomentation of trouble in the States would make matters worse.

I assure you that we are not going to let the grass grow under our feet. Even if all these troubles come at the same time, we have got resources which would enable us to stand up to all of them at the same time. If they are anxious to challenge us, we would be ready to accept it. Let no State have evil designs on us or dream of extending its hegemony. Let them not entertain the fond hope of any Jatistan or Rajasthan or Sikhistan. If they persist, all these dreamers will soon be disillusioned. Instead, let them realise which way their true interest lies. I bear Pakistan no ill-will; I wish them god-speed; let them only leave us to pursue our own salvation and stop meddling with our affairs even in places like far-off Tripura. We shall then each settle down to our respective destiny. Maybe after we have become prosperous, they themselves will awaken to the need for reunion in the best interest of both. It is neither our business nor our intention to force a reunion. We only wish to be left alone so that both can live in peace and prosperity, happiness and harmony.

NO OUTSIDE INTERFERENCE

THE main purpose of my visit to Junagadh is to settle the many problems which the complete abdication of the authority which ruled has suddenly raised.

I congratulate you, the people of Junagadh, on the victory achieved by you without bloodshed. I also congratulate Brigadier Gurdyal Singh and his men of the Kathiawar Defence Forces who have behaved with exemplary discipline and steadfastness and efficiency. The task of the army is not only to fight but also prevent fighting. This force has achieved that in an ample measure.

I also congratulate the members of the Junagadh Administration who had realized, before it was too late, which way the right course lay and in which direction the path of rectitude pointed. However, those who wrongly advised the Nawab of Junagadh to accede to Pakistan were not true to the salt which they had eaten. For listening to this ill-intentioned and ill-omened advice, the Nawab has paid dearly.

The action of the Nawab of Junagadh will be a lesson to those who persist in their folly of attachment to an authority with which they have no natural ties.

Negotiations had been conducted by responsible men of the Junagadh State for accession of the State to the Indian Union. The Ruler professed attachment to the majority of the subjects and the Princes of Kathiawar with whom he had the most friendly relations. But shortly after, moves were initiated in the reverse direction and the Nawab's eyes were turned to Pakistan. He has gone whither he cast his longing eyes. Let him remain there.

The State does not belong to any single individual. Paramountcy has been eliminated, certainly not by the efforts of the Princes, but by those of the people. It is, therefore, the people who have got the right to assert themselves and the Nawab cannot barter away the popular privilege of shaping its destiny.

Pakistan attempted to set-off Kashmir against Junagadh.

When we raised the question of settlement of this problem in a democratic way, Pakistan at once told us they could consider this matter if we applied that policy to Kashmir State. Our reply was that we would agree to Kashmir if they agreed to Hyderabad. Pakistan, however, pointed out that they had no say in the matter. Nevertheless, whenever Hyderabad has been in difficulties, there is always a trek of the leaders of the Ittehad-ul-Muslemin to Mr. Jinnah.

It was only the other day that a solemn agreement confirmed by the Nizam and his Council was set at naught as a result of one of those periodical pilgrimages. Seldom has the history of the world seen a more farcical proceeding. The State, which boasted of a position of special importance, was reduced to submission by a crowd of Muslims who were determined to see that no agreement was concluded with the Indian Dominion. The Nizam has become a slave of his own Frankenstein.

The Ittehad-ul-Muslemin is trying to play the same game as the advisers of the Nawab of Junagadh had played in Junagadh. Hyderabad is, as it were, situated in India's belly. How can the belly breathe if it is cut off from the main body? The Nizam's reported attempts to secure a seaboard, such as Goa or Masulipatam, will end only in failure: these are not the Nizam's patrimony. They are not like chattel to be transferred as a business transaction.

If Hyderabad is to be saved, it must effect a radical change in its methods and policy. In the world of today, only those who have guts can make their voice felt. If Hyderabad wishes to be heard, it must follow bravely and courageously the popular will. Otherwise, Hyderabad's fate will sooner or later be the same as those of other Rulers and dynasties who had attempted to thwart the popular will only at the cost of their existence.

The problem of Hyderabad is the affair of India and India alone. India has no other wish except to remain at peace with Pakistan. After all, Pakistan is our neighbour and one does not pick quarrels with one's neighbour. We agreed to the creation of Pakistan in the spirit in which two brothers agree to divide their joint property so that each

would follow his independent existence in peace, security and prosperity. Pakistan felt that they would make of it a heaven on earth, but very soon hell was let loose. They perhaps thought that, faced with critical problems, India would not be able to deal with the inroads on her integrity and on her security.

The process of infiltration started with Rampur. There it was suppressed and eliminated. Junagadh was the next target. You have seen the result. In Kashmir they have followed even worse tactics. They have raised communal passions amongst tribesmen, equipped them and asked them to effect a *coup d'état*. The result has been great sorrow, plunder, rape, loot, massacre, destruction of life and property and atrocities on women. The erstwhile Happy Valley has had the bitter experience of 'liberation' by Pakistan. But our troops have cleared most of the Valley of the invaders and, God willing, they will completely eliminate them.

Meanwhile one hears rumblings in far-off Tripura. I should like to warn the authorities who are indulging in these manoeuvres that they should not be under any delusion that India's troubles have in any way undermined her strength. We have resources to meet the challenge from whatever quarter it might come.

I would urge upon you not to let the present opportunity of learning to defend yourselves slip. You have seen what a disciplined army can achieve. Learn from the army and emulate their example. You should never be taken in by panic. You should be fair to all. You must use your resources not only to defend yourselves but also to defend and protect the property and honour of your Muslim brethren who might agree to owe allegiance to India. As for those who harbour feelings of disloyalty or who feel they have an obligation to Pakistan, they must follow the path set for them by their Nawab who has already shown the way. Let them go to Pakistan if they feel that they have more in common with them than with India.

I emphatically repudiate the right of any outside authority like Pakistan to interfere with the popular will within our territory. The Indian Dominion forces have come to Juna-

gadh not at the request merely of the Dewan, but also at the behest of the people of Junagadh whose will the Dewan himself had ascertained before inviting India to take over the administration. It was, therefore, at the express desire and will of the people of Junagadh that the Indian Army marched into Junagadh, and when they leave the State, they would make sure that it was a popular administration which was in Junagadh and not an imposed Government which held the sway.

No appeal to outside authority nor to force nor any appeal to any international court can succeed in dislodging the popular verdict. It is on this sanction that we justify the present move of the Indian Dominion and it is on this sanction that we can conclusively justify our action to the world at large.

RESULT OF HYDERABAD NEGOTIATIONS

WITH your permission, Sir, I should like to make a statement on the result of the negotiations with the Hyderabad Government on the future relationship between that State and the Government of India. The House will recall that I stated on the floor of this House that this was the last phase of these negotiations. I am happy to say that an agreement has been reached and I lay on the table of the House a copy of the Standstill Agreement signed this morning, as well as a copy of the collateral letters exchanged between H.E.H. and H.E. the Governor-General.

As the House is aware, it was in July last that we initiated negotiations with the States for their accession to the Dominion of India, which, due to the spirit of co-operation evinced by the Rulers, resulted in the accession before the 15th August of all States except Hyderabad, Kashmir

and Junagadh. We had negotiations with representatives of His Exalted Highness the Nizam also at the same time. I do not wish to take the House through the many phases of the negotiations. I need only say that when 15th August came no agreement could be reached. At the same time, His Exalted Highness the Nizam was anxious not to break off negotiations and accordingly at his request we decided to give him an extension of two months within which to finalise his attitude. When the negotiations were resumed, His Excellency the Governor-General, with the concurrence of the Cabinet, undertook to continue them on our behalf. He had several meetings with the Delegations sent by His Exalted Highness and about a month ago a complete agreement had resulted, but owing to developments of which the House is aware the old Delegation resigned and a new one was sent by His Exalted Highness the Nizam in its place. During the negotiations with the new Delegation we adhered to the stand we had already taken up and finally the agreement which we have now succeeded in obtaining from the present Delegation is exactly the same as we had negotiated with the old one.

Under this settlement, all agreements and administrative arrangements on matters of common concern which formerly existed between the Crown Representative and the Hyderabad State, except the Paramountcy functions, are to be continued as between the Government of India and the Hyderabad State for a period of one year. These agreements and arrangements cover a wide variety of matters including the three subjects on which the accession of all States has been accepted, *viz.*, Defence, External Affairs and Communications.

I know that Hon'ble Members would have been much more gratified if as a result of these talks His Exalted Highness had found it possible for the State of Hyderabad permanently to accede to the Indian Dominion. Such an accession would have been in accord not only with our cherished desire but also with the interests of both the Indian Dominion and the Hyderabad State. We, however, fully appreciated the internal difficulties in the State, and,

consistent with our policy to secure agreement, not by coercion, but as far as possible with the maximum degree of goodwill on both sides and with due regard to the overall position in India, we felt that an agreement of this nature, even for a limited period, would have considerable advantages over the absence of any agreement whatsoever. The period of one year would enable both of us to forge closer relations and would, it is hoped, pave the way for a permanent accession.

The settlement makes it clear that Hyderabad does not propose to accede to Pakistan. This, if I may say so, is only right, for, placed as Hyderabad is, its destiny is inextricably bound up with that of India.

I fully realise that Hon'ble Members of this House as well as the public outside have been considerably concerned over the happenings in the State in recent months. Now that accord has been reached, I am sure it will have a wholesome effect on the existing situation and will exercise a beneficial influence on the relations between the two communities, both in the State and outside. We can thus put these happenings back in the past and look forward to a relationship in which amity and cordiality will prevail. An atmosphere will thus be created which will enable people who have left the State to return to their homes.

I am also certain that as this settlement is intended to serve as the basis of friendly and cordial relations, it will be worked in that spirit. We on our part will do our best to secure this end.

I would also like to refer briefly to the fact that proposals for constitutional reforms are now engaging the attention of His Exalted Highness. On this, as well as on the question of final accession, I hope he will readily agree that in the ultimate analysis it is the will of the people that should guide his judgment. There are unmistakable signs in several other States of the triumph of this principle and I feel certain that His Exalted Highness will, as becomes a Ruler of his pre-eminent position, set an example which others can follow.

Finally, I am sure the House would like me to place

on record our sense of appreciation of all that His Excellency the Governor-General has done in bringing about such a happy conclusion to the prolonged negotiations.

SINK DIFFERENCES AND WORK HARD

I MUST pay a tribute to the province of Orissa for she has escaped the communal trouble prevalent in some parts of the country. We have achieved Swaraj and we have yet to reap the fruits of Swaraj. Since my visit to the province many years ago, many changes have taken place. India is now free and independent and yet India is not in a position to enjoy the fruits of freedom. My visit to the province is in connection with the trouble which has occurred in numerous small Eastern States.

Paramountcy is gone, no doubt, but it does not mean that no more authority is left. The Government of Orissa have full resources to deal with any situation. Apart from the Princes, there are those who intimidate and threaten the Rulers. It is not the proper thing to do. I have met some Rulers today and have told them that they should not carry on as they did in the past. They must transfer power to the people.

I confidently hope that in the next five years the whole have extended my support to the movement for a United Orissa. You are poor today but with united will and hard work you can make the province rich. The Dominion Government have undertaken to do their utmost to bring to fruition the Mahanadi project which would not only benefit the present province but also the States adjoining it.

I confidently hope that in the next five years the whole face of the Union would be changed. To make the country prosperous you should all sink your differences and work hard. There is no more room for any agitation or mischief but only for hard work.

Violence must be given up. In unity there is strength and prosperity. Today the people in Orissa are agitated about the Rulers. But who are the Rulers? There could be Rulers only if the people recognised them as such. The Rulers must move with the times. They should cease to be frogs in the wells. These are the days of democracy. The Rulers must put their trust in the people.

There must be total elimination of violence, for the forces of law and order are there to deal with any anti-social elements. I deplore the recent events in Calcutta. Those who indulged in them have done a grievous wrong. The Premier of Bengal is a popular Minister and those who engineered the agitation had their remedies. I am pained to hear that a strike is contemplated. There was a strike last year and the people of Calcutta know its consequences. I would therefore appeal to them not to indulge in strikes and conflicts. Government will not tolerate any strife and we are determined to put an end to all quarrels. That is why the partition of the country was agreed to.

You must all work hard to make the country prosperous and wealthy. You must follow the lead of Mahatma Gandhi by eradicating untouchability and fostering inter-communal unity.

INTEGRATION AND DEMOCRATIZATION

THE public has already received through the press and over the radio a fairly clear and detailed picture of the settlement which I have reached, during the course of my visit to Orissa and C.P. and Berar, with the Rulers of Orissa and Chattisgarh States on the problem of integration of those States with their neighbouring provinces. I feel, however, that for a correct appreciation of this important event it is necessary for me to explain the background and the policy underlying that settlement. Democratization of the

administration, which has long been the keynote of Congress policy towards the States, has become a pressing problem since August 15. The Princes themselves have in many cases begun to realise the spirit of the times and have been gradually introducing measures in accord with that spirit. The progress in some States has been slow, in others it has been swift, but everywhere it has been sure.

It should be obvious to everyone, however, that even democracy and democratic institutions can function efficiently only where the unit to which these are applied can subsist in a fairly autonomous existence. Where, on account of smallness of its size, isolation of its situation, the inseparable link with a neighbouring autonomous territory, be it a Province or a bigger State, in practically all economic matters of everyday life, the inadequacy of resources to open up its economic potentialities, the backwardness of its people and the sheer incapacity to shoulder a self-contained administration, a State is unable to afford a modern system of government, both democratization and integration are clearly and unmistakably indicated.

In the world of today where distances are fast shrinking and masses are being gradually brought into touch with the latest administrative amenities, it is impossible to postpone for a day longer than necessary the introduction of measures which would make the people realise that their progress is also proceeding at least on the lines of their neighbouring areas. Delays inevitably lead to discontent, which in its turn results in lawlessness. The use of force may for a time check the popular urge for reform, but it can never succeed in eradicating it altogether. Indeed, in many of the States with which I had held discussions during the last two days, large-scale unrest had already gripped the people; in others the rumblings of the storm were being heard. In such circumstances after careful and anxious thought, I came to the conclusion that for smaller States of this type, placed in circumstances which I have described above, there was no alternative to integration and democratization.

At the same time I felt that their Rulers had acquired

by heredity and history certain claims on the people which the latter must honour. Their dignities and privileges and their means of subsistence on a reasonable standard must be assured. I have always held to the belief that the future of the Princes lies in the service of their people and their country and not in the continued assertion of their autocracy. In conformity with these ideas, I felt that on release from an increasingly onerous and awkward responsibility, but at the same time with their personal position and that of the ruling family fully safeguarded, they would have opportunities of service which have hitherto been denied to them and which many of them are genuinely longing for and genuinely anxious to secure, and they would cease to be the targets of continuous bitter attacks and ill-will.

The settlement which we have reached at Cuttack and Nagpur is actuated by these motives, prompted by these considerations and governed by these principles. I have no doubt that it is in the best interests of the Rulers, the people and the country at large. I am particularly grateful to the Rulers of the States who showed a commendable appreciation of the realities of the situation and a benevolent regard for public good. To all of them, the decisions they have taken have, undoubtedly, involved considerable sacrifice of powers and fortune. They have accepted this sacrifice cheerfully and voluntarily in the interests of their people and the country at large. I am sure their people will react favourably to this generous response to public interests.

Throughout my discussions with the Rulers I was careful to emphasise that the solution which we suggested for the difficult problems with which we and they were equally faced was for them to accept or reject of their own free will. There was no compulsion save that of events and of the circumstances and peculiar problems of their States. I also told them that in offering this solution we were actuated by nothing but the friendliest disposition towards them and had nothing but the ultimate good of the Princes and their people at heart. I also maintained that their voluntary surrender of most of the powers that they wielded so far would increase and not reduce the prestige that they have

enjoyed and would create in the hearts of their people a place of lasting affection and regard which would redound to their glory. I am very glad that they all responded to these sentiments, and I would ask the people of these States to play their own part and to extend to each one of them unfailing cordiality and unstinted goodwill.

In future, if the people of these States have any grievances, they can only be against the popular representatives and leaders who would be charged with the responsibility of looking after their interests and welfare, and not against the Princes. These Princes have by their act of abnegation purchased in perpetuity their right to claim the devotion of their people. I am sure that very soon the Provincial Governments, who would be acting for the Dominion Government in discharging administrative functions in these States, will turn their thoughts and energies to ameliorating the conditions of the people and to devising ways and means of associating representatives of States with the fashioning of administrative measures. Let them all realise the stakes involved—some 56,000 square miles of territory with a population of 8 million, a gross revenue of about Rs. 2 crores and immense potentialities for the future. It is the undisputable right of the people in these territories to modern amenities of government which should be the governing consideration in everything that we do for them. It will also be the duty of the people concerned to help and co-operate wholeheartedly with the respective Provincial administrations in this process of unification and amelioration, so that they may derive the full benefit of this great achievement.

MANTLE FALLS ON YOUNG SHOULDERS

THERE are about 500 small Indian Princely States—more than the total number of independent States in the world. The former alien rulers of India preserved them like pickles,

Speech at a public meeting, Jaipur, December 17, 1947

but now Paramountcy has gone, foreign rule has gone and India has become free. But we have not yet breathed the real air of freedom. So many people do not know that we have got Swaraj, though they know that foreign rule is gone. People do not yet have any taste of it. They do not know whether we have gained anything from it. We must make them realise the difference between foreign rule and Swaraj.

It is true we have not yet had time. During the short time that has elapsed, we have had, due to our misfortune, communal troubles. The poison of hatred generated by the League gripped us. We accepted even partition of India in the hope that it would restore peaceful conditions. That was not to be. If we had not been hit by this cataclysm, we would have been much better off. Fortunately Jaipur has escaped and I congratulate its people and Government on it. The model which you have placed before the world is one which your people can be proud of, but what about the future? We will not stand still, we have to march forward. I am confident that it will not be necessary for me or you to ask for responsible government from the Jaipur Maharaja. Whatever you want you are sure to get. The Maharaja of Jaipur and his advisers have worked together with us in unifying India. I know they are with us and have shared with us in the achievement of freedom.

In every State people demand responsible government. The Rulers are aware of this and know that they have to march with the times. At the same time we should be clear about our own duty. It is our right to take over government from them, but if we cannot improve upon it and provide better administration, what is the advantage?

The Congress has not demanded power for the sake of power but for the sake of service. If you have narrow ideas like Sikhistan, Jatistan and Rajasthan, I should like to say that the world today is different. We cannot think of any such narrow ideology. Government must be that of the people — rich, poor, Hindu, Muslim, Parsee and Christian.

We have to conduct governmental affairs in a manner that each one feels it is his own government. Times are

such that government is of those who exert and not of those who sit idle. You should be certain how and for what purpose you use power. We have to utilize power for the welfare of the downtrodden.

I find in the State there are the Praja Mandal and Congress, Hindu Sabha, 'R.S.S., Rajput Sabha, Jat Sabha and so on. This will not do. You have yet to get together and work together.

You have expressed the hope that Hyderabad shall also join the Indian Union within one year. I have no doubt that it will. It will realize that its interests demand it. The people demand self-government in Hyderabad. They have a right to do so. How can Hyderabad remain isolated? It will come of its own accord.

Muslims demand parity when Hindus are 85 per cent and Muslims 15 per cent. Responsible men should not talk like this. Some say they have connections with Pakistan. If that is so, they will have to bear the consequences.

Kashmir is a different problem. The Pakistan Government is saying that the tribesmen have become infuriated and are attacking, looting, etc. But everyone knows it is not the work merely of raiders. There can be no doubt that there are some regular troops armed with automatic weapons. It is our duty to stand by Kashmir and we will discharge that duty. India will not desert Kashmir even if the struggle goes on for ten years. But ultimately it will be for the people of Kashmir to decide their own fate, and this can be possible only when the last raider has left the State.

There is, therefore, no cause for worry, but the people of Jaipur can assist the Government of India by spreading the message that there should be no trouble elsewhere.

I have received complaints against the Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh. If so many complaints are received, the Sangh should realize that there must be something wrong. I appreciate the enthusiasm of young men, but that should be diverted into constructive channels.

There is a great deal to be done to make India militarily strong. Very substantial industrial effort must back the army. All that cannot be achieved by the lathis of the Sangh

which are being used for breaking the heads of a handful of Muslims. There is no point in your hoping to get Pakistan back into the Indian Union. It will come of its own accord and we should, therefore, let the Pakistanis remain as they are. I am certain that whether they grow strong or weak, ultimately it would be better for us to get them back when they themselves feel like doing so.

A strong army requires strong support in the matter of supply and food. The people have, therefore, to husband their resources and for that purpose they must forget their quarrels.

We old men have completed our mission. India has secured her freedom. The mantle will now fall on young shoulders and they should be ready to undertake it. They cannot do this if they waste their efforts over trifles. If they follow the path which the Sangh has been following, they would be doing a disservice to the country.

Everyone realizes that in order to subsist as a great nation India must produce more, but instead of that, agitators are compelling workers to strike, the latest instance being in Calcutta where the popular Government wants special powers but obstruction is placed in its way. Firing had to be resorted to, but the reply is a threat of a general strike to compel the withdrawal of the Bill.

There is no question now of foreigners being given special powers. It is a representative Government which can be changed if people want it to be changed. Let those who feel the urge to advise a general strike ponder over the reception which was accorded to our leader, Pandit Nehru, when he went to Calcutta. He was greeted by a million people.

It is only agitators who clamour for strikes. India is not going to benefit by these tactics. We cannot afford to waste a single hour. It is essential for our existence that we should produce. If we still do not realize this, we are doomed.

Land has been concentrated in the hands of a minority of people in States like Jaipur. I appeal to landholders not to live on the earnings of those who shed their sweat and blood to make the soil productive. It does not behove Rajputs whose duty it is to protect others to live at the expense of

others. Let them make sacrifices so that others may live.

It was by disunity that India lost its freedom. Hundreds of years ago, despite the feats of valour and heroism performed by men and women in Rajputana, India became a slave to foreigners. The people should not repeat those mistakes now.

In the address, I have also been asked to say something about Junagadh, but there is hardly anything to be said. The people of Junagadh will deal with the problem. The problem of the States now consists of Hyderabad and Kashmir. I have every hope that Hyderabad will do the right thing before the year is out. In this world the popular will can be ignored only at one's peril.

When such a big power as the British had to quit India under the pressure of popular opinion, how can the Nizam hope to do otherwise? However, the new government which has just assumed office should be given a chance. Some people fear that in the interim period Hyderabad will be prepared for a struggle. Even if that is true, it is foolish to imagine that we would sit idle while these preparations are being made.

I appeal to you to follow implicitly the constructive programme laid down by Mahatma Gandhi.

A BIRD'S-EYE VIEW

As you are all aware, on the lapse of Paramountcy every Indian Princely State became a separate independent entity and our first task was to consolidate about 550 of them on the basis of accession to the Indian Dominion on three subjects. Barring Hyderabad and Junagadh, all the States which are contiguous to India acceded to the Indian Dominion. Subsequently, Kashmir also came in.

With the attainment of independence by India, the urge for enjoyment of similar freedom naturally inspired

Statement in a Press Conference, New Delhi, January 29, 1948

the people of the States, where the process of democratization of administration had not made anything like the same progress as was made in the adjoining provinces. The result was agitation on the part of the people and occasional clashes between the Rulers and the ruled. Some Rulers, who were quick to read the writing on the wall, gave responsible government to their people, Cochin being the most illustrious example. In Travancore, there was a short struggle, but there, too, the Ruler soon recognised the aspirations of his people and agreed to introduce a Constitution in which all power would be transferred to the people and he would function as a constitutional Ruler. Similarly, in Mysore there was a struggle for a short time in which the popular will triumphed eventually, and we know that there has been a complete transfer of power from the Ruler to the people.

While these big States were temporarily able to deal with popular movements, the smaller States were not able even to maintain law and order with their limited resources and with the people in opposition to the administration. This was particularly evident in the Eastern States, in one of which, namely, Nilgiri, the situation had so deteriorated as to result in the Ruler leaving the State. In another State in the same area the Ruler could not return to the capital and had to approach the Ministry of States to advise the local Praja Mandal to keep quiet as the Ministry was about to take up the question of consolidation of States. These States had formed a superficial Union which could not last as it was not based on linguistic, cultural and economic affinities. The law and order situation in some of the States was so bad as to cause apprehension to the adjoining administrations of Orissa and the Central Provinces.

You know the sequence of events thereafter. I went there in the middle of December, met the Orissa Rulers at Cuttack and the Chhattisgarh Rulers at Nagpur, and it was decided that the best interests of the people as also of the Rulers lay in administrative integration of the States with the adjoining provinces. As early as 1930 the Simon Commission recommended the integration of these States

with the adjoining provinces but nothing came out of the proposal. The act of sacrifice on the part of these Rulers which this decision involved has been universally acclaimed throughout the country. The transfer of administration from the Rulers to the provinces was smooth and peaceful and has been warmly welcomed by the people of the States except in one or two places where ugly incidents occurred. But I shall not refer to them as they were not of any consequence and do not affect the main theme, namely, that the merger of the States was carried out willingly and has caused satisfaction all around.

The merger of Eastern States electrified the whole atmosphere. The people of the States found that here was a remedy for their difficulties arising out of their limited resources and narrow outlook. The eight Deccan States, which formed the United Deccan State by merging their sovereignties in the new State, a step which was then considered to be revolutionary, felt that even in the new State their life would be cramped and that they would not have the same amenities and benefits as the people of the adjoining province of Bombay would have with all the resources of Bombay. The people who had assembled to frame a democratic constitution for their new State changed their minds and asked for the merger of their States in Bombay. The Rulers, who have always been known for their progressive outlook, appreciated the weight and soundness of this view and agreed to abide by the decision of the people. The Constituent Assembly of the new State met only three days ago, *i.e.*, on the 26th of January, and has passed a resolution by an overwhelming majority in favour of merger with a province. The merger will thus be given effect to within a few days. There are some other States in Deccan which had not joined the Union, but in these States also the movement for merger had become so strong that the Rulers could not maintain law and order and have had to approach the Central Government to take over charge of law and order pending the merger of the States in the province of Bombay. These States are Akalkot and Jath. The Ruler of Jamkhandi was one of the earliest to read

the signs of the times and had approached this Ministry more than two months ago for unqualified merger of the State in Bombay. There was thus no trouble in his State and the people had welcomed the decision and the action of the Ruler. Thus all States in the Deccan except Kolhapur will shortly take their place in the province of Bombay to the mutual advantage of both, and to the particular advantage of the people of these States.

Next came the problem of Kathiawar.

Kathiawar is a veritable jigsaw puzzle of different jurisdictions. The States in Kathiawar comprise 13 Salute States, 107 limited jurisdictional States and 329 non-jurisdictional estates and talukas making up 449 units altogether. The area involved is more than 22,000 square miles with a population of between $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 4 millions. The administration of the States is complicated by the fact that many of them have scattered islands of territory all over the place. The Salute States of Nawanagar, Gondal and Junagadh, for instance, have respectively 9, 18 and 24 separate areas of territory. Added together, these 449 units divide the map of Kathiawar into about 860 different areas.

Because the jurisdiction changes every few miles, communications are in a primitive condition. Internal trade is rendered difficult by the export and import duties and the octrois which the various units levy, and this encourages extensive smuggling and black market operations. The administration of justice and the maintenance of law and order under these circumstances are greatly handicapped. The economic development of the region which has great potentialities is hampered by its political fragmentation.

This state of affairs is good neither for the State nor for its people. The late Political Department tried in its own way to solve the problem, but their measures were necessarily half-hearted and did not serve the purpose of unification. Their solution was that some of these smaller units should be attached to the bigger States. This scheme was tried out, but at best it was never a good working arrangement. In any case, the lapse of Paramountcy brought this to an end.

Since I took charge of the States Department, the unification of Kathiawar has been one of the major tasks to which I have devoted myself. In the altered circumstances the Rulers of the Kathiawar States have fully recognised the difficulties in continuing the present system, and I am glad to announce that it has now been possible to work out a scheme and get the agreement of the States to it by which the whole of the Kathiawar region will be integrated into a new State of Kathiawar as a single block of territory. There will be no separate State or thana boundary, and the whole area will be served by one Government. I must pay my tribute to the Rulers for their patriotic co-operation which made this task so easy of achievement.

The movement for merger, by which I mean either merger with the provinces to suit geographical situations or amongst themselves, is progressing rapidly. Such a move has now the support of both the Rulers and the ruled. It is no longer a demand of the people only. You must have observed that recently the Rulers of Bundelkhand met at Nowgong and adopted a resolution for the creation of a United States of Bundelkhand in which all the Bundelkhand States and Rewa are likely to participate. It would be a State fairly large in area, but very substantial in mineral, forest and natural resources. Mr. Menon is hoping to go there on or about February 8, 1948, to have further discussion with the Rulers and the people and to help them in bringing about a State based on complete transfer of power and somewhat on the model of the State of Kathiawar.

Another region where too the Rulers and the people are thinking on similar lines is Central India or Malwa. I have just received information that the Rulers of this region are forming a unitary State on the lines of the State of Kathiawar based again on full responsible government, that is, the Executive being fully responsible to the Legislature and the Legislature being fully representative of the people of the area. There is a similar move for Rajputana where all the smaller States and some of the bigger ones are hoping to join to form a State of Rajasthan which will help to preserve traditions, culture and peculiarities of life

the Rajputs. I welcome all these moves as they solve the problems of consolidation as well as responsible government at one stroke, and it is particularly gratifying to note that these moves are not impositions from above but joint and willing proposals of the Rulers and the ruled. Both the people and the Rulers have realised that grant of full responsible government is inevitable and that responsible government in a small State is just a farce. It is not possible to have a decent and modern administration except in a unit of fair size and this is what is now being attempted, I am sure, with considerable success in the country.

There will still be a number of large States unaffected by the movement for merger or Union. In these States there is a definite movement for full responsible government. As I observed before, Cochin led the way and Travancore soon followed suit, and the Interim Government introduced in Mysore has become a model for many States to follow, such as Kashmir and Gwalior. I have reason to believe that the leading Rulers of Rajputana are thinking on the same lines and will not lag behind the other Princes in trusting their people and giving them full responsible government, thus enabling them to shoulder responsibilities for their own government. I expect similar constitutional changes to be introduced very shortly in Bikaner and Jaipur. It is obvious that if any State lags behind, it will only do so to its own disadvantage and to the disadvantage of its people.

I have no doubt that this process of consolidation and democratization will be completed very shortly and certainly well before the new Constitution, which is being framed by the Indian Constituent Assembly, comes into effect, and thus there will be no discrimination between the people of the provinces and the people of States in the matter of degree of freedom enjoyed by them. All the units will thus march side by side and with equal freedom and not some as free men and some as serfs.

Nobody could have visualized this transformation in the country six months ago. Mr. Menon will tell you that a very senior officer of the Political Department told him ~~just before the transfer of power~~ that he was wasting his

time over accession and standstill agreement one State would accept the accession as newly formed Ministry of States. Those alive and must be wondering how this occurred since they left have really been about. While I give plenty of credit to the people for this bloodless revolution in nearly one-third of the country, I have nothing but praise for the manner in which the Rulers have co-operated with us and with the people in bringing about this development. None is more conscious than myself that all this could not have been achieved but for their willing co-operation and their intense patriotism which was latent but which has just blossomed forth in all its fullness with the acquisition of independence by the country.

One State remains which is still causing us some anxiety. It is the State of Hyderabad. Its geographical situation, the composition of its people and its cultural and traditional ties with India are such that it cannot but be an integral part of India, tied to it by the same bonds which today characterise the relationship between India and the acceding States. Accession in the case of Hyderabad is inevitable and will, I hope, come before long. Similarly democratization which will characterise the whole country cannot be delayed or withheld in Hyderabad. The people there must get their due and I would only appeal to His Exalted Highness the Nizam to appreciate this situation and to do the right thing in time.

The time at my disposal is short and the problem is vast but I have tried to give you a bird's-eye view of the current tendencies as well as of the shape which the country is likely to take when this process of consolidation and democratization is completed as it should be in the next few months.

FOLLOW THE GANDHIAN TRADITION

THE people must maintain and preserve the dignity of the institution of Rulers and not ridicule them. The Princes in Kathiawar have now surrendered their powers to their subjects and have become constitutional Rulers. The people must conduct themselves in such a manner as to deserve the new freedom. There should be mutual understanding and toleration and a recognition of the common interests of the Ruler and the ruled.

With the birth of Samyukta Kathiawar you should strive to initiate the tradition which Mahatma Gandhi preached all through his life. He was from Kathiawar and the people of Kathiawar have now an opportunity to build up a new Saurashtra.

Gandhiji preached and practised the philosophy of love and mutual tolerance. My long association with Gandhiji has taught me something of that lesson. It was my regard and esteem for the Rajpramukh, Jam Saheb, that won me over. And it was the same principle which won other Rulers as well. They have now surrendered their powers and great responsibility now rests on the people. By asking them to respect the institution of Rulers, I am not asking them to flatter the Rulers or cringe before them.

Many years ago I tried to win responsible Government for Rajkot. I had sought Gandhiji's blessing, but Gandhiji told me that the struggle would not be successful as long as the British remained in the country. Gandhiji knew that once the British left India, the traditions of mutual regard between the Princes and the people would be renewed, and the intimate and cordial relations which existed in ancient times between the Princes and the Panchayats of the people would be renewed. I appeal to the leaders of Saurashtra to so discharge their responsibilities as to be a shining example to the world.

MARCH WITH THE TIMES

SMALL States cannot subsist as independent entities any longer without endangering Indian unity. We are trying to achieve national unity. Many Rulers have realised their duty by merging themselves in bigger entities. Rajasthan has to march with the times.

It is your privilege and duty to bear the sword. It is equally your responsibility to ensure that the sword is not used to harass the weak, but to protect them. You should use it in a manner that the world will say you are inheritors of an ancient civilization and are true to the real traditions of the chivalry of Rajasthan.

You have to remember that you are born in a country which has produced a great saint like Gandhiji whose lifelong mission it was to plead for and espouse the cause of the weak, the downtrodden and the outcast.

People and Rulers alike must realize that the old traditions of rule cannot be carried on. The times are changing, new ideologies and new traditions now hold the field. Our power is not going to relax merely because there are some people who still dream of the power of their sword and still think of carving out a kingdom for themselves.....

It is to Gandhiji that we all owe our freedom. For the unspeakable tragedy of his murder we all have to bear the responsibility. Alwar also shares the blame. Why were the people of Alwar sleeping when a person in the garb of a sadhu was distributing leaflets which asked for Gandhiji's death in a most brutal and criminal fashion?

I wonder whether people appreciate that they would not be able to safeguard the freedom they have won if the signs that are already visible persist in their fateful course. Freedom was not won by the sword and will not be protected by guns alone. Guns can protect freedom from aggressive designs of neighbours or other foreign States. But internally, it is the honest core of the people and the true realization of the responsibilities of a free citizen that alone can save freedom from the machinations of self-seeking and interested

parties and individuals.

When Rajputana was involved in slavery, the British Government kept it steeped in old customs and traditions of internecine dissensions which had so often proved the bane of Rajputs. If after the foreigners have gone the same evil persists, how can we say that we have achieved real freedom? Such freedom can be achieved only when we realize Gandhiji's dream of Ram Raj.

Unlike what was in the past, the might of India is not now concentrated in Rajputana alone. The Army is no longer the monopoly of the so-called "military" castes. Persons of all provinces and all castes have now a share in the defence of the country. It is the responsibility of every citizen to feel that the country is free and it is his duty to protect it. Every Indian must now forget that he is a Rajput, Jat, Sikh, etc. He must remember that as an Indian he has equal claims on the country, and responsibilities also.

The Rulers must understand that they are trustees of the people and servants of the State. Their relations with the people are those of father and children. They must zealously safeguard the interests of the people whose welfare must be their primary concern. In the context of present conditions it implies that they must stand out as constitutional Rulers, exercising their influence by their benevolent advice rather than by any active interference in the sphere of administration. Similarly, the people must realize their responsibility towards their Rulers by pointing out their true interests to them and speaking the truth.

Small States cannot now subsist as they did in the past. They have also to realize their destiny in the present scheme of things in the country. They can only play their true and honoured part by merging themselves in bigger and more sizeable entities.

The watchword of India should be unity. India has made a tremendous sacrifice for freedom. A part of living India has been torn away. The rest cannot but be and must be a whole. We are trying to achieve that unity. Many Princes have realized their duty. Orissa, C.P. and Kathiawar Rulers have pointed the way by making heavy

sacrifices for the sake of Indian unity. We hope Malwa and Bundelkhand Rulers will follow suit.

If all this can happen within five or six months of India's attaining freedom, Rajasthan too must march with the times. Those who are still dreaming of establishing a Rajput hegemony are clearly out of tune with the present trend of events.

It is the duty of the majority community to protect the minority whose interests, as it were, come as part of a trust to the former. Muslims, after all, number only four crores, Hindus about thirty crores. It is incumbent on them, therefore, to protect the Muslims in India.

The need for unity is great. Do not create dissensions among Praja Mandal workers. Dissensions do no good to anybody. Unity in the conduct of administration is essential in every State, more particularly is it necessary in the case of Alwar whose finances seem to be in a precarious state. The lower subordinates are ill-paid. Recurring deficits in such limited income are bound to lead to bankruptcy. All this has to be remedied.

Rajputana has yet to realize its duty. It has yet to breathe the air of freedom. Gandhiji's message of removal of untouchability has still to find an echo in every Rajput's heart.....

THE FUTURE IS NOW WITH THE PEOPLE

TODAY we have assembled on a historic occasion. A new chapter in the history of India is opening up before us. We have reason to congratulate ourselves that we are all participating in such an auspicious event; we have also occasion to be proud of it. But along with this pride and this celebration let us not be unmindful of our duties and

Speech at the inauguration of the Patiala and East Punjab States Union (PEPSU), Patiala, July 15, 1948

obligations. We must cleanse our hearts and purify our minds and resolve to do pure deeds by ourselves, by the new Union and by our country. We should harbour no evil, we should reflect who we are, what we have inherited and what we have achieved.

If you look at the history of India, you will find that for centuries India was steeped in slavery. What struggles, what sacrifices, what bitterness and what sorrow we all had to face to rid India of that centuries-old malady that had eaten into the very vitals of its nationhood! A great change has come about, indeed a great revolution has been brought into being. The greater the change, the more comprehensive the revolution, the more are the travails through which the country has to pass. We have already had more than our due share of troubles and turmoil. We are lucky to have survived so many of them, but many are still to be overcome. If we falter or fail, we shall consign ourselves to eternal shame and disgrace.

I want you to realize the full gravity of the situation and to consider the position in the light of the legacy which we have inherited. Did anyone dream a year or two ago that one-third of India would be integrated in this fashion? This is the first time in history after centuries that India can call itself an integrated whole in the real sense of the term. But we must all resolve that whatever mistakes we might commit, we should do nothing which would be calculated to send India back into the slavery of the past. It is, therefore, the duty of India's valiant sons to see that the clocks of progress are not put back, but go forward. We must also realize that if we have to take our due place in the comity of nations, it will not come to us for the asking; we shall have to strain every nerve for it.

What I told you during my last visit to Amritsar and Patiala in September and October last year still deserves to be carefully considered. I told you then that it was not necessary for you to struggle to wrest power from the Princes. If we approach them in the right fashion, they themselves would be willing to surrender it. Those words have come true today. In the achievements which are shown to the

credit of the States Ministry the Princes have their due share. Similarly, I asked the Sikhs of the Punjab and the Punjab States to come to the rescue of the unfortunate and stranded refugees by giving an undisturbed passage to the Muslim refugees going to Pakistan. The Sikhs who have always extended their love and consideration to me listened to the appeal which His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala and I made on that occasion and agreed to give that passage. You were then united, but now I see proofs of disunity in your ranks. If you feel that the danger has passed and you can indulge in the pastime of dissensions, you are grievously mistaken. Punjab's, or for that matter India's troubles are not over; we have still to face scores of them during the troublous times ahead. Just as you agreed to make way for Muslims in compliance with my appeal, you have to make similar way for free India to forge its course ahead: you have to give a helping hand in the same way as you did then.

If I have come today, it is not only to fulfil the promise which I made to my friend and brother, the Maharaja of Patiala, but also to tell you what your duty is in the circumstances in which the country is situated today. You have not succeeded in forming a Ministry. I am neither sorry for nor disturbed over it. Those who have never undertaken the task of administration before are naturally reluctant, afraid or hesitant, but what is, therefore, necessary is to have a stout heart and a fearless mind. If you read the history of democratic countries, you will find that where there is stability, there the task of administration goes on steadily, but where a country is foundationally unsteady, it becomes a prey to all sorts of influences, feelings, sentiments and ideas. Our primary aim should, therefore, be to achieve that stability which is the surest foundation of progress. That stability can come only when there is unity in our ranks. It is true that for the foundation of a democratic Government we must have a Government and an opposition, but today, while we have yet to stand on our legs, we have got to strengthen ourselves, and that strength cannot come by dissensions in our ranks but by unity of purpose, unity of aims and unity of endeavour.

It is almost a year since the country attained freedom. No country has suffered so much within the first year of its birth as India has. Eastern Punjab States and Patiala occupy a strategic position in the new circumstances of the country. The responsibility of the Rulers and the people of this area is greater than that of any other part of the Union. That responsibility is increased manifold if we consider that we have a neighbour with whom our relations are not of friendliness, trust and confidence. In these circumstances, the responsibility of the border people is greater and, therefore, our duty of unity is heavier. I harbour no ill-will nor do I wish to hurt anyone. My only desire is that India should be well protected and that it should be for every Indian to see that there are no loopholes or weak links in the whole system of security, both external and internal. In my efforts to achieve this the Rulers have helped me a lot. It is now for the people to extend their helping hand to me. Time is of the essence. We have to move quickly and unless we do so, we have a big stake to lose.

The charge is sometimes hurled against the States Ministry that it has moved too quickly. But the world today is different from the world of yesterday. Things could move slowly and steadily in the old world where there was more leisure and less speed. Today one day is equal to a century. See how overnight States have fallen and empires have disappeared! Who can say then that time does not fly and that we can afford to wait? In integration and democratization, therefore, there must be quick progress if the country is to avoid disasters and threats to its existence and unity. In this connection I warn certain Princes who are still thinking of disturbing the security and integrity of the States. Some one of them pays heed to an astrologer that in August the Ministry would break and Government would fall, thereby giving him a chance to stage a march to Delhi. Some others listened to a so-called sadhu who predicted all sorts of things and advised them to take steps calculated seriously to jeopardise the interests of the country. People are talking about differences in the Cabinet. They do not seem to

realize that the Cabinet system of government is based on the principle of joint responsibility. We stand or fall together. Some are talking in terms of Jatistan, some in terms of Rajasthan. Some seem to be scheming about staging disturbances when India gets involved in Hyderabad. Let all these persons remember that we have not taken the reins of office to destroy what we have achieved. We have done so not only to build a sound system of administration but to raise a noble edifice of which both we and the future generations can feel proud and happy. To that task we shall devote ourselves with full energy and vigour and resources. We are not going to give in because astrologers and sadhus say so or other evil designers desire it. We shall give in only when we have done our job. I feel that in that task we are entitled to receive the co-operation of every true son of India, and if each one of us plays the part which we must, I have no doubt that we shall succeed.

Many have asked me what is going to happen to Hyderabad. They forget that when I spoke at Junagadh I said openly that if Hyderabad did not behave properly, it would have to go the way that Junagadh did. Those words still stand and I stand by those words. The former Governor-General, Lord Mountbatten, thought that he would be able to secure a peaceful settlement. I let him try. He tried his best. The Nizam used to pride himself in being styled 'His Majesty's Faithful Ally'. The British feel that that gives them some right to approach the Nizam and make sincere efforts to win him round to the path of sanity and peace. It was in this spirit that Lord Mountbatten, assisted by Sir Walter Monckton, hoped to the last to be able to secure by negotiations what they felt Hyderabad must offer to India and India must offer to Hyderabad. Although I was doubtful whether the efforts would succeed, I let them try. We also wanted that if things could be settled peacefully, so much the better. But although up to the last Lord Mountbatten was hopeful of settlement, that hope never materialised owing to the intransigence of the Nizam and the fanaticism of the forces at his back. But I should like to make one thing clear.

The terms and the talks which Lord Mountbatten had have gone with him. Now the settlement with the Nizam will have to be on the lines of other settlements with the States. No help from outside on which he seems to rest his pathetic hopes would avail him.

I grant there has been delay in settling this question, but to those who are restless I should like to say, "You must trust us. The pangs which you feel for Hyderabad are shared by me no less, but when we have to perform an operation, we have to see that as little of the limb involved is cut as possible, and that the operation is performed only when the time is ripe. We shall take action actuated by this motive and this alone. We will not allow any other extraneous consideration to influence us, for that way alone lies the interest of the country."

On the people of the Union new responsibility has devolved. To rule by one's will alone is easy: to rule by consent and jointly is a difficult task, particularly when administrative experience is lacking. It is for this reason that we all must tread the ground cautiously. As for criticism of the so-called dual control and the system of advisers and administrators, we ourselves do not want to inflict on the people officers whom we can ill spare. The number of competent and able officers is limited. We ourselves want every one of them, but people must realise that in the successes or failures of these Unions, the Central Government has a great stake. The quickening of the steps and the transfer of power in the States are not the achievements of the States' people alone. The States Ministry has played a major part and it is, therefore, its responsibility to see that efficient and orderly government rules over these territories. Swaraj involves learning by experience. That is proverbially costly but we have to ensure that the cost is not disproportionately high and serious mistakes are prevented. It is not wise or practical politics to rush headlong into experiments and decisions of doubtful wisdom. The position is such that everyone must tread cautiously. Mistakes can be tolerated elsewhere where administration is set on an even key, but where the foundations have not

yet been well and properly laid, they cannot be tolerated.

We must be mindful of the need of a secular approach to the Indian problem. Religion is by no means the target of attack by the Government. There is no question of the Central Government attacking any religion or placing any religion in danger. We have not done so even in the case of those who separated from us. It is they themselves who are attacking their own co-religionists. One of the true followers of the Prophet, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, has been placed behind bars by the Frontier Government and recently the Pakistan Government has sanctioned the bombing of the defenceless tribesmen of the Frontier. As a contrast, I may refer to the decision which the Government of India took not to resort to bombing when a band of tribal marauders attacked defenceless people in the settled districts of Hazara. That was the decision of a Government which was predominantly non-Muslim, whereas a Muslim Government of Pakistan has sanctioned bombing operations against the Muslims of the tribal territories.

I must mention the notable contribution which H.H. the Maharaja of Patiala made to the unity and integrity of India. He took up the cause of the country at a time when there were few friends amongst the Princely Order and when serious attempts were being made to balkanise India by means of one or more 'Raja-sthans'. It was his patriotic lead that contributed in a large measure to a change in the attitude of the Princes to the problem of accession to the Indian Dominion. I acknowledge the ready and willing help which the Rulers have given me in implementing the policy of integration and democratization. This involved considerable sacrifice and self-denial on their part. For all this I am most grateful. I am particularly happy to associate myself with the inauguration ceremony of the Patiala and East Punjab States Union as this is the last celebration of its kind. It marks the coping stone of the arch which the Government of India, with the co-operation of the Rulers and the States' people, has built to contribute towards the stability of the country's structure. It now remains for the people to utilise the tre-

mendous opportunity that lies before them. The future is now with the people; they themselves can make or mar it.

UNITED RAJASTHAN

WE are assembled here on a historic occasion. I am grateful to all of you for giving me the honour of inaugurating the Rajasthan Union. A great responsibility devolves on us today.

Let me first of all congratulate the Maharaja of Jaipur on becoming the Rajpramukh. In India, our Princes have a tradition not only of ruling but even more of serving the people. So the Maharaja of Jaipur who has so far served the people of Jaipur will now serve the people of Rajasthan. The Rana Sahib is not present today due to indisposition. But we all remember him. Rana Pratap endeavoured all his life for a united Rajasthan. Today we have the honour of reaching that goal. It is a proud day for us. On this day, we felicitate the Rajpramukh and invoke the blessings of his illustrious ancestors. I thank also the other ruling princes who have moved with the times and co-operated with us by their acts of abnegation.

I have received some praise for the work done in the Indian States. Credit for this should, in fact, go to the Princes. But for their sincere co-operation, this turn in India's history would not have materialised in such a manner. Some ignorant people may not value this contribution. I have the greatest appreciation for it and feel it my duty to secure appreciation for it from the whole of India. Not once or twice but many times the Princes and I have gone over world trends and the requirements of India's culture and history, and we have come to the conclusion that our present course is the only right one. That is why India's prestige and honour in the world is increasing. If we keep going like this, a bright future lies ahead of us which will

Speech at the inauguration of the Rajasthan Union, Jaipur, March 30, 1949

amply recompense those who have made sacrifices today. Wealth and power are not greater than honour. Gandhiji, for example, had neither sceptre nor sword, nor wealth. But his self-abnegation, his strength of character and his influence were equalled by none. Similarly our Rajas and Maharajas have always made sacrifices for their States and their people. For this I once again thank them today when a new chapter is being written in our history. I also hope that in future they will not be indifferent or uninterested spectators, but will co-operate with us in writing new chapters in history.

Let us recall how we slid into slavery and how we emerged from that state. Then let us determine not to allow any recurrence of the causes of our servitude. Mutual jealousies, lack of unity and narrow parochialism were to blame. In such circumstances, even the services rendered in limited spheres were not very useful.

Now, for the first time, India is integrated and bigger than ever before in history. This we now have to consolidate and our freedom must be made so deep-rooted as to be unshakable. In this let princes and people alike give their best co-operation. Rajasthan is steeped in history. Every stone here has a proud tale to tell. Today it has to make history anew in a new world. The opportunity is now with us. Let us recognise our duty, our *dharma*, at this juncture. Now that we have merged big States into a bigger unity, let no small thought persist. Loyalties to Jaipur, Udaipur, Jodhpur, Bikaner, etc., should be sublimated into a sense of belonging to Rajasthan. Then we should be Indians first and Rajasthanis later. Love of our individual birth-place is natural, but the frog in the well can never be a match for the denizens of the sea. So we should fill our hearts with the love of India, to which the Princes and people of Rajasthan have pledged loyalty today. Let us see what this pledge implies. The Rajpramukh, the Up-Rajpramukh and the Chief Minister have taken the pledge, not just in their individual capacity but on behalf of Rajasthan. I too have come to inaugurate this Union not on my own. That would be presumptuous. I have come on behalf of the

Government of India and as a faithful servant of the country and its people. Now all Rajputana is one and it is part of a great entity—India. Small fortresses and small states cannot defend their integrity in this age. This is the age not of swords but of the atom bomb. Right now, soldiers from Madras are defending India in Kashmir. Our Commander-in-Chief has also praised the prowess of the Regiment of Mahars. Let the brave Rajputs—makers of India's history—recognize now that it is a joint concern. Nothing should now separate the rich and the poor, high and low, princes and plebeians. I know it is not easy to change centuries-old ways, but then look at the sad fate of countries where vested feudal interests failed to see the signs of the times. Just as I have prevailed upon the Rajas and the Maharajas, with love and persuasion, I would request the Jagirdars also to move with the times. It is in their own interest.

Free India offers grand new vistas for advancement. Anyone can improve his status now, but no one can stick on to any status just because it was held by his forbears. Let us do willingly what we may otherwise have to do under compulsion. That is the honourable and sensible way. Otherwise just look at China, a country bigger than even ours. It has a bigger population and it is not an enslaved country. See what a change has come over the landlords and the rich people there, for better or for worse.

We are heirs to an ancient culture and noble traditions. It is not meet that we should have to take recourse to the path of violence and coercion. If we do not give our poor and backward people a helping hand, they will be a drag on us. We should not let such a situation arise. Men who bow to other men should be taught to stand erect. Let them bow to God, the Father, and be as brothers to us.

Now a word to Congressmen. For long years, I have worked as a soldier of the Congress. I still consider myself a soldier though many call me a Sardar. To my fellow-soldiers I respectfully submit that our only claim to power and authority springs from our having followed Mahatma Gandhi in the fight for India's freedom. Any further and future claim or honour that we find shall also be through sacrifice

for the poor and the downtrodden. Humility is essential. I am pained whenever I find it lacking. Humility is a Congressman's first requisite because that is the badge of service. Our proper place is not at vantage points of power but at vantage points of service. Who shall be ministers and where shall state capitals and other things be located are matters for small people to talk and write about. Congressmen will be forced and pushed into seats of power if they are true Congressmen.

For years, I never spoke from a Congress platform. Even now I fear to make a speech, lest some unguarded word of mine should hurt somebody's feelings or interests. It would be unbefitting a servant. A soldier keeps his feet firmly on the soil. He is not afraid to fall. But those who have risen high risk a fall if they are not careful. Hence those in positions of authority should be watchful day and night. Let Congressmen eschew desire for power. Let able workers be brought forward. If it becomes necessary for us to sit in seats of authority, let our hands be clean, our tongues mild, our hearts sound and our vision clear.

Till today, we have been criticising those who ruled over us, we have cast all onus on them. Now the responsibility is ours, for good or for evil. It is an awesome responsibility that has devolved upon you and your Chief Minister. May God give you strength to shoulder these burdens.

During our fight for freedom, disobedience of unjust laws was a potent weapon. It has unfortunately degenerated sometimes into a contempt for all laws. Gandhiji's teaching was that only he who follows the laws wholeheartedly is fit to flout bad laws. Our natural inclination should be to respect laws, to strengthen the prestige of the law. Our actions should be such as to win the affection of the Princes too. Only then will the honour and respect hitherto attaching to them be transferred to us. The duties towards each other, of the rulers and the ruled, the government and the people, Rajdharma and Prajadharma, should be clearly understood. The Prajadharma is to make the poor man's hut his fortress. There he must be safe without need of police, for he is too busy earning his subsistence to go about looking for police

help. Rajasthan will prosper only in an atmosphere of security. For Congressmen who have lived lives of suffering and sacrifice, this is a time of change. They have to learn to tread yet another path. They have a new task to fulfil. All the potential wealth hidden in our soil has to be brought up. If we do this job well, there is so much of it that poverty will vanish. But it is a job that requires peace and amity, but not the kind of peace that is maintained by the police. We should be able to do with a minimum of policing in the new era that begins today for Rajasthan.



With Mahatma Gandhi at AICC meeting in Delhi

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With Jawaharlal Nehru at Palam airport, New Delhi, "October 1949





With Sir Pethick Lawrence, Secretary of State for India, during the Simla Conference, June 1945

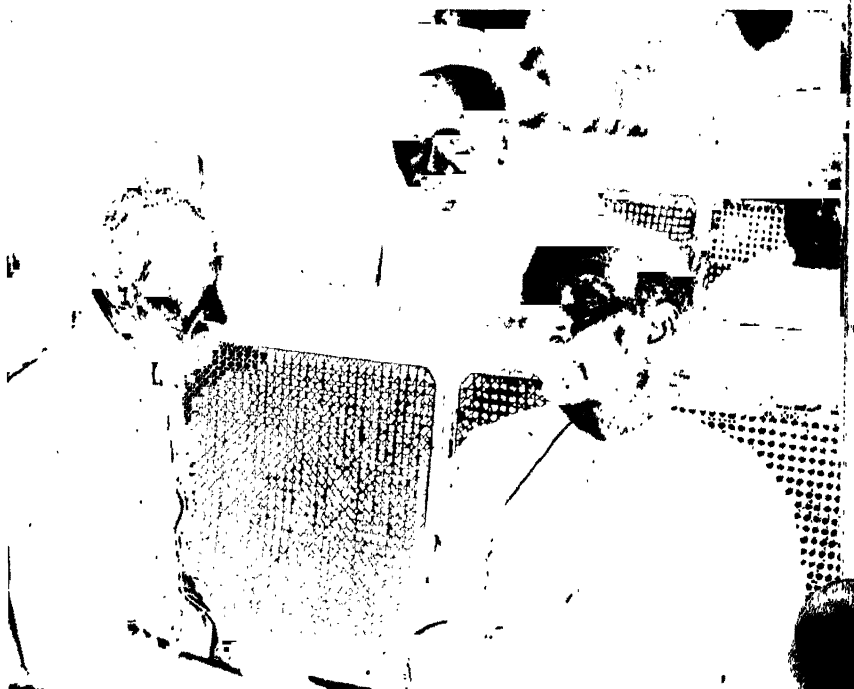
Attending a joint meeting of representatives of the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League in New Delhi about the formation of the Interim Government





With other members of the I.N.A. Committee after a meeting in New Delhi, 1945

Talking to Jawaharlal Nehru during a meeting of the Constituent Assembly in New Delhi. Shri Govind Ballabh Pant and Dr Rajendra Prasad are also seen in the picture.





*Being sworn in as a member of the Central Cabinet by President Rajendra Prasad,
New Delhi, January 26, 1950*



Administering the oath of office to the Jam Saheb of Nawanagar, Rajpramukh of Saurashtra, February 15, 1948



Arriving to inaugurate the Greater Rajasthan Union at Jaipur. To his left is the Maharaja of Jaipur, Rajpramukh of the Union.

Administering the oath of office to the Maharaja of Patiala, Rajpramukh of Patiala and East Punjab States Union, Patiala, July 15, 1948

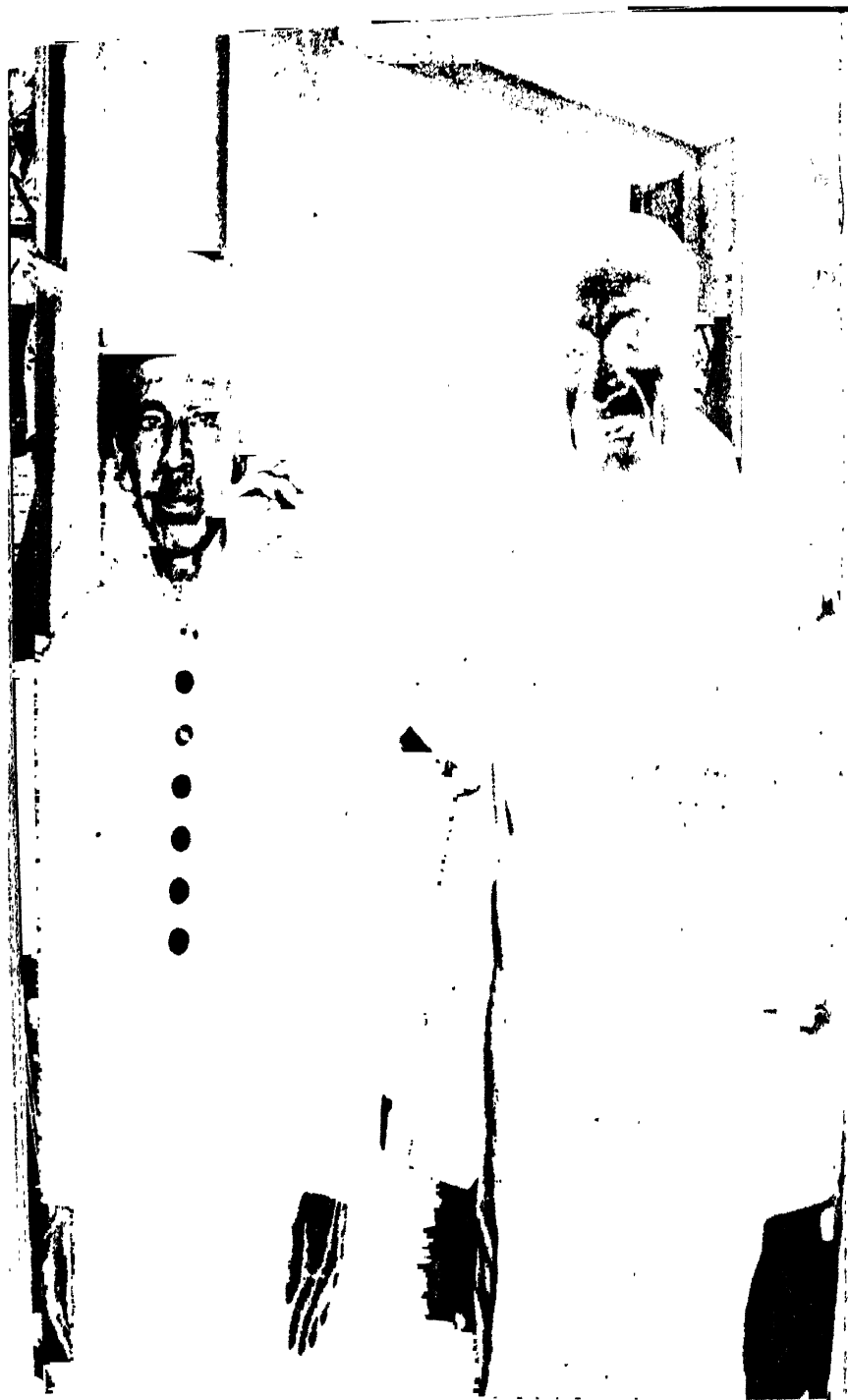




At an informal discussion with the rulers of Deccan States at Bombay

*On arrival at Mandakhally aerodrome, Mysore State, on February 24, 1949.
To his right is the Maharaja of Mysore.*





With the Nizam of Hyderabad at Bolarum Residency, Hyderabad, February 28, 1949

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COMMUNAL HARMONY

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BREAK THE VICIOUS CIRCLE

I APPEAL to the Sikh leaders to throw in their weight for the maintenance of peace in the interests of millions of men, women and children, many of whom have been trekking their way from West Punjab for three weeks now and are braving the elements and the worst physical conditions possible in the ultimate hope of living among their own kith and kin.

It behoves them in the larger interests of India in general and East Punjab in particular to so organize themselves as to assure safe passage to Muslim refugees travelling whether on foot or by trains or in trucks.

I feel it is a disgrace to all that military force should be used to compel them to give transit facilities; instead, I think it is in keeping with your dignity, reputation for valour and self-interest that you should raise a volunteer force which will come forward and guarantee complete immunity from attacks to these refugees.

All of you know how dear the Sikhs are to me and that I have nothing but the good of the community at heart. I feel it is in the best interests of your community and of its future prosperity in East Punjab that the sooner we get our refugees the better. It is only then that you can create in East Punjab the garden which you created in West Punjab by your efforts and show to the world that the flower of manhood inhabits this sacred land.

I appeal to you to break the vicious circle of attacks and retaliation at least for a week and then see if there is a satisfactory response. If you are disappointed, the whole world would know whom to hold irrevocably guilty.

Sardar Patel flew to Amritsar on September 30, 1947 and addressed on the same day a meeting of Sikh leaders and later a public meeting in an attempt to stop the "vicious circle of attacks and counter-attacks" between West Punjab and East Punjab. The two speeches had a profound effect on the situation and brought back peace and sanity where disorder and bestiality were rampant.

NO RETALIATION

I REMEMBER how in this very same city of Amritsar I held discussions, a few years ago, for raising a suitable memorial to the martyrs of Jallianwala Bagh and how at Lahore for the first time we all—Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims—took the pledge of winning complete independence. In the blood-bath of Jallianwala Bagh had mixed the blood of Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims.

I am grieved to think that things have come to such a pass that no Muslim can go about in Amritsar and no Hindu or Sikh can even think of living in Lahore. The erection of a memorial to Jallianwala Bagh martyrs has become a painful memory and the hard-won freedom has been followed by such unspeakable tragedies. This is a situation which has brought dishonour and disgrace to all of us and India, which looked forward to raising her stature in the eyes of the world after the attainment of independence, has now to hang her head in shame.

The butchery of innocent and defenceless men, women and children does not behove brave men; it is the war of the jungle and the hall-mark of inhumanity and barbarity. There will be occasions and opportunities for all of you to show your zest for fight; one must seek for it one's ground and suitable time. It is now time not to be foolhardy or desperate but time to reflect calmly on your course of action.

We have won our freedom to make our country great and prosperous, not to destroy what little has been vouchsafed to us by our alien rulers. If we are not careful, we shall lose even our long-cherished freedom which we have secured after such suffering and so many struggles. You must remember that the lives of millions are at stake; they cannot be gambled away to enable us to satisfy any spirit of vengeance or retaliation. It is essential that you must maintain peace and break the vicious circle of attack and retaliation and counter-retaliation and see to it that the refugees have safe transit. Any obstacle in the way of refugee movement will only worsen the plight of our refugees who are fighting

the elements, hunger, disease and maltreatment, to come to a land where they hope to find peace, shelter and opportunities to lead a peaceful and civilized existence. We should do nothing to shatter this hope which is probably the only thing that is sustaining them.

I am quite certain that India's interest lies in getting all her men and women across the border and sending out all Muslims from East Punjab. We can then settle down to the tremendous task of repairing the damage done and to make this land by our labours the same fruitful garden as our refugees have left behind.

I deprecate the demand for police and military aid which people are putting forward. Such a demand may befit the weak but it does not suit the brave and able-bodied men of the Punjab. They should organize themselves on the right lines. The safety and defence of the frontiers are the concern of the Government but at the same time people should organize themselves. The Government will give them arms and equipment if they know how to use them on the right lines.

I have come to you with a specific appeal and that is to pledge the safety of Muslim refugees crossing the city. It is hardly creditable to us that we do not realize in what our good lies. Muslim evacuees are going under agreed arrangements of exchange of population. They should really need no protection but should be allowed to go in peace. Bitterness fed by years of propaganda of hate has gone too deep to allow any Muslim to remain in East Punjab and any Hindu or Sikh to live in West Punjab. It is, therefore, in the interest of everyone that this exchange should be effected peacefully and smoothly. Any obstacles or hindrances will only worsen the plight of our refugees who are already performing prodigious feats of valour and endurance.

It does not become a brave people to perpetrate deeds of brutality on defenceless men, women and children. This is not dictated by any code of chivalry or honour. If others cast chivalry and honour to the winds, it does not justify us in debasing ourselves. If we have to fight, we must fight clean.

Such a fight must await appropriate time and conditions and you must be wary in choosing your ground.

To fight against the refugees is no fight at all. No laws of humanity or war among honourable men permit the murder of people who have sought shelter and protection. Such misdeeds on the other hand can be left to be tackled at a more opportune time.

I appeal to you to act with prudence and foresight. You should allow free and unmolested passage to the Muslim refugees.

Let there be a truce for three months in which both sides can exchange their refugees. This sort of truce is permitted even by laws of war. Let us take the initiative in breaking the vicious circle of attacks and counter-attacks. They do good to nobody; they can only do a great deal of harm to us.

If you do not have faith in the Pakistan Government or its people, you can hold your hands for a week and see what happens. If they do not observe the truce in the right spirit, the world will know who the breakers of the laws of humanity are. We shall then have every justification for holding them to account.

Make way for the refugees with your own force of volunteers and let them deliver the refugees safely at the frontier. Let the whole world see that we mean well and we mean business and it is they who have evil intentions and evil designs.

FRIENDLY ADVICE

ON hearing of the convening of the conference the Defence Minister and I decided to meet the Sikh leaders at a very critical time in their history.

I intend to place before you a few words of friendly advice as one who has throughout admired your virtues

of courage and patriotism and has nothing but the warmest friendly feeling for your community.

I recall how, with the strong support of H. H. the Maharaja of Patiala, I appealed to your leaders and the vast gathering at Amritsar for your help and co-operation in securing safe passage for Muslim convoys through Amritsar. I was gratified at the response to that appeal and I regarded that response as a token of the regard which you were kind enough to show me.

I warn you against hasty decisions on vital matters in a most difficult situation. I fully appreciate the tempers which have been disturbed under the blows which destiny has visited upon you and the anger that rules your hearts.

But you are a brave people and you must face the situation like brave men. It does not behove the brave to besmirch the honour of their swords and the fair name of their community and country by spilling innocent blood. The time is for calm and dispassionate thinking over your future course of action and for wisely so shaping your conduct as to bring glory to your community and your country, and not for bemoaning your fate or counting your losses and vainly hoping to make up for them by retaliation. The Sikh community has been misrepresented and vilified abroad by certain interested propagandists. You have to rehabilitate your reputation which you built up during the two World Wars. For that, it is not enough to wield the sword, but to know how to use it. These propagandists are concentrating on maligning Sikhs.

There is another set of propagandists which is bent on isolating Sikhs and creating divisions between Hindus and Sikhs and propagating that it would now be a conflict between Sikhs and Hindus. This set is more hostile than the first. The latter is only creating a legend to serve to revive old imperialist justification for foreign rule in India. The former are, however, enemies both within our ranks and without. They must be guarded against and their propaganda given a lie to.

When we accepted division, it was like our agreeing to have a diseased limb amputated so that the remaining

may live in a sound condition. But before we could start the process of healing, events have overtaken us. Evil cannot be met with evil, but with good. Although we cannot act in entire accord with the creed of non-violence in the imperfect state of mental and moral equipment which is necessary for that purpose, we cannot act in such a manner as to degrade the sword which we wield. When the right time and right cause come, you can use your sword to your heart's content. Now you have to sheathe your sword so that you can raise the moral tone of the people which is now at such a low ebb that lawlessness, contempt for law, attacks on innocent train passengers and brutalities on helpless persons are being perpetuated. It is up to all of us to check that tendency and you can give the right lead in the matter. We must create the right atmosphere in which we can achieve our cherished objectives of raising the status and the standard of living of the people. We must resuscitate our moral sense which seems to have been dulled by the prejudices and anger which cloud our minds. Unless we rise above such prejudices and anger, we can never achieve all that we fought the struggle for freedom for.

I appeal to those present to take decisions consistent with their responsibilities. You must support your Government which is valiantly struggling against heavy odds. It is your own Government and is, therefore, entitled to your support.

I thank you for the honour done to me by inviting me to address this most representative gathering.

FORGET YOUR MUTUAL QUARRELS

I RECALL how after years of struggle and suffering India has won independence and shaken off the foreign yoke. All of us who took part in this struggle did so with the idea that when independence was achieved, there would be

Speech at a public meeting, Patiala, October 22, 1947

good government in India. When we accepted partition, it was with the sincere desire that we should thereby be enabled to work out our own salvation, unhampered by the factors which rendered progress impossible. At the same time, we wished Pakistan well and hoped that under settled conditions, when they realized that we were really brothers and not two nations of different faiths and ideologies, they would come back to us. But the poison has been injected too far by the ceaseless propaganda of hate and of the two-nation theory.

The result has been that no Sikh and Hindu can live in peace and safety in Pakistan, a fact which had its reactions in that no Muslim could live without fear in East Punjab. Nevertheless, we have to so order our conduct that no further internecine quarrels taint our history. We must all live in amity and goodwill and must not tolerate 'Goonda Raj' which is being perpetrated in various areas owing to the spirit of lawlessness which the last few weeks have generated and promoted.....

After alien rule, to which both the Rulers of the States and the people were equally subject, has been removed, all those who are left belong to one family. There can, therefore, be no quarrel with the Princes.

They are ours and we can make them understand and appreciate our point of view. But, before you can make them understand and ask them to relieve themselves of the burden which they are shouldering, it is your bounden duty to make yourselves worthy of taking over those responsibilities. It is not enough to ask for responsible government. You must know how to digest it.

No government can function without popular support. Travancore and Mysore are living examples of how in the fitness and fullness of time, popular unity and strength had made the Rulers part with power. This shows that we must change our method to suit the new circumstances which the departure of alien rule has created.

I myself took part in many a fight with Rulers in the past. But I always told them that my struggle was not with the Rulers, but with those agents of alien power who

were propping them up against popular demand and popular forces. But the days of vilifying Princes, calling their names and maligning them are gone. It is not only a waste of energy to concentrate on them, but also needless irritation and a profitless undertaking. Our methods now have to be guided by a more friendly approach and a spirit of understanding and goodwill. No government anywhere in India can be carried on without popular support. I am sure the Princes themselves realize that their interests lie in taking the people with them. Why should we, therefore, pick quarrels or choose the path of ill-will and hostility?

I appeal to you to cultivate a proper sense of moral values. I ask you to do a little heart-searching. We can only advise you, but you can act on that advice only according to your capacity. If you are selfless workers, you will get your reward. But if you become involved in mutual jealousies and internecine quarrels, you can only do damage to the cause which you profess to uphold. When we achieved independence, it was with a view to carving out for India a place in the world polity, and to raising the stature and the standard of living of the people. Instead, we find ourselves fully preoccupied with the task of meeting the most gigantic problem of refugee relief that has ever faced man in human history.

This is not the time to involve ourselves in needless disputes, nor can we ever afford to follow the mirage of many "stans" like Khalistans and Sikhistans or Jatistans. If we are not careful and become a prey to these inimical ideals, we can only succeed in turning India into a *pagalistan* (land of lunatics). It is, therefore, up to you to forget your mutual quarrels and behave with a sense of responsibility and in a spirit of co-operation and goodwill. We have formidable tasks before us. Attacks on railways, looting and the part which sometimes even the military and the police play in such incidents merely show that we are face to face with moral bankruptcy, which, if not checked, must mean downfall and ruin.

Remember, if a hungry man dies of starvation, he dies without a stain on his honour. But one who steals to feed

himself virtually suffers from living death. He has not followed the path of honour and glory, but that of shame and disgrace. If we want popular government, we must build up popular support and strength. Princes want respect and reverence. They will gracefully yield to popular demands if they find that a sense of responsibility and popular support prompts the popular organizations. I, therefore, ask such organizations to work selflessly and in a spirit of public service and thereby earn not only the gratitude of the people but also the confidence of the Rulers and achieve the object which is neither inimical to the interests of the Princes nor inconsistent with their responsibilities. For, after all, no Prince can afford to treat popular support with contumely, nor popular grievances with indifference.

GOEBBELS' PROPAGANDA IS REBORN

IT would be useless on my part to attempt to deal at any length with the many nightmares and imaginary visions of a widespread plan for the extermination of Muslims in the States which the Prime Minister of Pakistan has conjured up in the broadcast made from his sick-bed. One might expect hallucinations in a state of frenzy, but the state of delirium which the broadcast most certainly exhibits cannot but have filled his listeners and readers with amazement and apprehension.

History has been dishonestly and mischievously distorted: freebooters and looters have been dubbed as liberators and heroes: the wanton and mass tragedies inflicted by the raiders on the innocent, helpless and peaceful inhabitants of villages in the Happy Valley have been treated as matters of no consequence, and what is virtually an elaborately planned, fully equipped and professionally directed invasion

Statement issued from New Delhi on November 6, 1947 in reply to a broadcast by the Prime Minister of Pakistan justifying the action of the raiders in Kashmir.

from a friendly territory has been presented as a rising of the people against the tyranny and oppression of a ruling race.

The grim tragedy which overtook the British members of a religious order at Baramula, the details of which are too heart-rending to tell, and the murder in cold blood of European families there are sufficient to reveal the true character of the so-called missionaries of liberation and emancipation.

The ceaseless hysteric outbursts of the Prime Minister of the N.W.F.P., together with the known composition of these raiders and their equipment, fully bear out the interest taken by a neighbouring State, the leaders of which, more than anyone else, have constantly harped in the past on the independent character of the States after the lapse of Paramountcy and the entire freedom of choice in the matter of accession vested in their Rulers.

As if Kashmir alone was not an adequate target for the venomous shafts of the Prime Minister of Pakistan, he has encompassed within his indictment the States of Alwar, Bharatpur, Patiala, Faridkot and Kapurthala which, be it noted, are States that have acceded to the Indian Union, a state with which again Pakistan has friendly relations. As usual, however, facts have either been ignored or given a twist to suit the picture which the Prime Minister deliberately intended to overdraw.

The troubles in Alwar and Bharatpur occurred when the Prime Minister of Pakistan was a distinguished member of the Indian Cabinet and the relationship with the States was, as he ought to have known, conducted by the Crown Representative. The initiative in those disturbances was taken by Meos with whom the Jats and Rajputs have had occasional feuds. Houses of non-Muslims were burnt, their cattle stolen and their farms set on fire.

I have no doubt that but for the poison of hate and the communal virus which had been injected into the body politic by the League propaganda of the two-nation theory, this feud, like many others, would have been settled in a satisfactory and amicable manner. Instead, interested

parties from outside took a hand until a situation was reached when neither side could give to the other any mercy.

Nevertheless, Meos in thousands have returned to these States and those that wish to go neither persuasion nor arguments would succeed in restraining, for they know the destruction of non-Muslim homes and property which they have wrought.

As regards the States of Patiala, Faridkot and Kapurthala, I see no reason why the Pakistan Prime Minister should have, unless it were for his own ulterior ends, isolated them from the general flare-up which has overtaken the East and West Punjab and for which not one single community is to blame entirely. If the Rulers of these States have not been able to prevent communal disturbances to a degree which would have prevented evacuation of Muslims, they share that discredit with other governments, including the Pakistan Government, who so ignominiously failed to arrest the tide.

The Pakistan Prime Minister talks of a widespread plan for the extermination of Muslims. Of course, it did not suit his purpose to mention the brutal and mass murders which have taken place in a State which was quite susceptible to their influence and which had, some time ago, acceded to the Pakistan federation, namely, the State of Bahawalpur, where non-Muslims have suffered untold losses in men, women and children and property. But obviously, Pakistan holds that what is sauce for the Pakistan goose cannot be sauce for the Indian gander.

While non-Muslims can be exterminated ruthlessly and without remorse from Pakistan and its neighbouring States, producing an inevitable reaction in the Indian Union, the blame must rest with the latter, for the inhabitants of the latter have refused to submit to the fate of their co-religionists in the former. It is this perverted logic on which the whole conception and policy of the Government of Pakistan are based, and it is this perverted logic which the Pakistan Prime Minister has left to his appreciative audience and the world to judge.

The Pakistan Prime Minister has also made the following statement: "When we asked the Indian Government to protect the Muslims in these States, we were told that these events were the States' internal affairs and the Indian Government could not interfere."

Whenever this question was broached between the two Governments, the limitations imposed by constitutional relationship on interference in the internal administration of a State were mutually recognized. The last time when this was formally placed on record was when representatives of the two Governments met in Delhi on September 19. In fact, in the past the League leaders have themselves been loud in their protestations of the absolute independence and sovereignty of the States on the lapse of paramountcy both in the internal and external spheres.

It does not now lie in the mouth of the Pakistan Prime Minister to twist the constitutional relationship between the Union and the acceding States in such a manner as to convey the impression that the Indian Union did not intervene while tragedies were overtaking the Muslim population in these States. If he is serious or sincere, let him first set his own house in order and take action against Bahawalpur State which has acceded to Pakistan and which is no less guilty of atrocities and cruelties than the State in the Indian Union referred to by him.

With the Pakistan Government, however, it is quite clear that such distortions, misrepresentations, concealments and grossly prejudiced and unbalanced versions are becoming tricks of the trade. Before the last war and during it, the whole population of the world had become familiar with the kind of propaganda which was associated with the name of the late Dr. Goebbels. That propaganda is now reborn, but I am sure that the world, to whose judgment the Prime Minister of Pakistan has left matters, will not be deceived.

THE RIGHT ATMOSPHERE

INTERNAL peace and communal harmony are absolutely essential if the Government are to go ahead with their plans for improving the lot of the common man in India. Disturbed conditions are detrimental to your own interests. Leave the work of fighting to the Government and we shall fight the real enemy of India.

We have fought against foreign domination because we wanted to drive away poverty from our country and make the life of its people worth living. What is the good of our achieving independence if Indians continue to be poor and if no difference is felt with the coming in of the National Government?

The real work has not been completed. Actually it was to start now. But the time since August 15, short but precious, has been lost in communal fighting; thus nothing constructive could be done. The President of the Local Congress Committee has drawn my attention to the poverty prevailing among the people of Mehrauli, but if they want the Government to do something about it, they must first create the right atmosphere. They must have a clean slate before any step could be taken.

A large number of Muslims had been living in Mehrauli but now they have left the place. The same kind of thing has happened in Delhi, the capital of India, and that is really deplorable. The communal rioting has given India a bad name abroad and provided the foreigners with a chance to say that the Indians are not capable of managing their own house.

All hopes of bringing about a radical change in the living conditions of the people of India have come to naught, because the entire resources of the Government are employed in maintaining law and order. You must co-operate with us, and all that we ask of you is to keep peace. These disturbances have been a terrible strain on the finances of the country. You must realize that nearly Rs. 4 lakhs

Speech at a gathering of villagers while opening a library at Mehrauli near Delhi, December 29, 1947

are being spent every day on the Kashmir operations alone. We shall continue work in Kashmir and shall not concede even an inch of our country. The people must face the fact that Pakistan has been established and that those Muslims who wanted to migrate to it have done so already. Those who elected to remain in India could with no justification be asked to leave the country. I appeal to you to create such an atmosphere that no Muslim may feel unsafe among you.

If you are attacked, fight back by all means, but no one should commit such acts of barbarity as killing innocent women and children and patients in hospitals.

YOU CANNOT RIDE TWO HORSES

OUR achievements of the last four months have to some extent restored the country's prestige which it had lost in the eyes of the world because of the unfortunate happenings following partition. I appeal to the younger generation to assist us in consolidating India and making her impregnable.....

The maintenance of communal and industrial peace is essential if the newly-born independent democratic State of India is to lead the Asian countries on the road to progress and emancipation from foreign domination.

I am a true friend of the Muslims although I have been described as their greatest enemy. I believe in plain speaking. I do not know how to mince matters. I want to tell them frankly that mere declarations of loyalty to the Indian Union will not help them at this critical juncture. They must give practical proof of their declarations.

I ask them why they do not unequivocally denounce Pakistan for attacking Indian territory with the connivance of Frontier tribesmen. Is it not their duty to condemn all acts of aggression against India?

I invite the R.S.S. to join the Congress and not to weaken the administration by creating unrest in the country. I realize that they are not actuated by selfish motives but the situation warrants that they should strengthen the hands of the Government and assist in maintaining peace. By using violence they cannot render true service to the country.

The ever-changing, undecisive and non-committal attitude of Pakistan must be changed. Pakistan should change policy in her own interest. The Junagadh and Kashmir incidents have demonstrated her intention. If you want to divide the rest of India also, say it boldly, and let us decide the issue openly.

The Pakistan leaders have accused the Congress of sabotaging Pakistan. That is far from the truth. The establishment of Pakistan has been advocated as a heaven for Muslims. We should be glad if they make it a heaven. They must realize that the enemies of Pakistan are inside it and not outside. If Pakistan collapses, she will collapse by her own mistakes and sins.

Today I think of those days when in this city of Lucknow the foundation of the two-nation theory was laid. It was said Muslim culture and tradition were not akin to those of the Hindus. Muslims were a separate nation. Muslims of this place played a very important role in advocating this theory.

A few Nationalist Muslims protested against it. They combined with the Hindus because both were perturbed at the advocacy of such a theory and raised their voice. But my Muslim League brothers made a strong plea for separation. They said that they were not satisfied with separate electorates and safeguard of minority rights. They wanted separation and the establishment of a separate state.

Throughout the length and breadth of India the Muslim Leaguers spread the doctrine of separation. Muslim youth mostly came under their influence. They accepted it as the whole truth. Consequently, a wall was raised between them and those who were in the Congress.

In Calcutta, on August 15th, the "Direct Action Movement" was launched by them to give a direct blow to those

who still did not believe in the two-nation theory. We then thought if there was to be a division of the country, let it be so. Let them manage their own affairs and we will manage our own. After all, we had to drive out a foreign power. We were then facing the problem of getting rid of an alien rule. So we accepted the division of the country and thought we would consider the partition question later.

I will be glad if the Muslim Leaguers can make Pakistan a 'heaven'. I will be happy if Pakistan becomes strong, happy and prosperous. But we did not think that even after separation we would not have breathing time. It is said today that plans for sabotaging Pakistan are being hatched in Hindustan. But I assure you all that the plan for destroying Pakistan is not being hatched in Hindustan. If it is being hatched, it is being done in Pakistan. It is the situation in Pakistan that will ruin Pakistan.

Sometimes they accuse the Hindus, the Sikhs and the Central Government of creating troubles. But, I tell you that if Pakistan falls, it will fall not on account of us but on account of its own enemies within.

The Muslim Leaguers call me their greatest enemy. Formerly they used to call Mahatma Gandhi as Enemy Number One. Now they think Gandhiji is their friend and have substituted me in his place, but I too speak the truth. They believed that if they got Pakistan, they would ensure full protection for the Muslims. But have they ever looked at the Muslims living in Hindustan? Have they ever sympathised with them?

When freedom was won, there came the Punjab massacre which lowered our prestige. Then came the Junagadh issue followed by the Kashmir problem.

We raised the question with Pakistan. They replied: "We are not concerned." It was the Azad Government Dal in Kashmir and Kashmir Muslims who were responsible for aggression. But it is no secret that the Frontier tribesmen are receiving rations, war material, motor trucks and petrol.

As a last resort, the India Government referred the Kashmir issue to the U.N.O. Mr. Mohammed Zafrullah Khan asks why we went out to wash the dirty linen. Are they not

satisfied with washing their dirt in the Punjab in the last four months? It is a deliberate falsehood.

I want to ask the Indian Muslims only one question. In the recent All-India Muslim Conference why did you not open your mouth on Kashmir? Why did you not condemn the action of Pakistan?

These things create doubt in the minds of the people. So I want to say a word as a friend of Muslims and it is the duty of a good friend to speak frankly. It is your duty now to sail in the same boat and sink or swim together. I want to tell you very clearly that you cannot ride on two horses. You select one horse, whichever you like best.

In the Constituent Assembly, one of the Lucknow Muslim Leaguers pleaded for separate electorates and reservation of seats. I had to open my mouth and say that he could not have it both ways. Now he is in Pakistan. Those who want to go to Pakistan can go there and live in peace. Let us live here in peace to work for ourselves.

The Muslim League Government in Pakistan declared that they would make suitable arrangements for the minorities living there. But ask the Sind Hindu refugees today. They say it is impossible to remain there. Pakistan is drifting towards lawlessness. There are about eight to ten lakhs of Hindus who want to come out of Pakistan. Some say eight to ten lakhs of Muslims should be driven out of Hindustan. But this is not a sound policy.

Let them leave Pakistan alone to pursue their policy. We are not at all disturbed. If they want to fight, we are 34 crores here. We have also men, materials and resources. Pakistan is a baby of yesterday. But it is not wise to mete out the same treatment to the Muslims as the Hindus are receiving there.

I understand there is an urge for military training among the youth. Military training is good and there is great need of it. You should now discard fighting with lathis, daggers and brickbats. I appeal to young men of India to unify India on all sides; do not forget that India was lost on account of foolishness. That foolishness should not be repeated in future. But unfortunately I find the same foolishness

prevailing everywhere.

If the States problem had not been properly handled, there would have been a 'Raja-sthan'. The screen of a Political Department between us and the States has been withdrawn. I contacted Rajas of various States as soon as Paramountcy was over. Most of them are real patriots. I explained to them the present political situation and apprised them of the situation in Pakistan. I also stressed the point that India was lost on account of internal feuds. They have agreed with me and I am happy that they have understood me.

There are many who criticize us and complain: this has not been done, that has not been done. I have all along told them, and still I say, let us have some time and then see what we have done and what we are doing.

To critics I want to say that since August 15, when we took charge, we have done an enormous amount of work. What about the partition work, the smashing of the steel frame of bureaucracy, the division of assets and liabilities and the refugee problem? We called a meeting of the Constituent Assembly and settled with the States. I assure you that if so much burden had fallen all of a sudden on any Government's shoulders, it would have crashed. But we did not fail. As a matter of fact, the manner in which we have discharged our onerous duties has raised our prestige in the world.

Now two things are needed for the reconstruction of India—a strong Central Government and a formidable army. By army I mean all the branches—naval, air and land forces.

If the relation between Pakistan and Hindustan continues as at present, the consequences cannot be foreseen. I am not hiding anything but I am telling bare facts. I would not like anybody to throw dust into our eyes.

I appeal to the Hindu Mahasabhaites to join the Congress. No good will be served by remaining aloof. If you think that you are the only custodians of Hinduism, you are mistaken. Hinduism preaches a broader outlook on life. There is much more of tolerance in Hinduism than is interpreted.

I appeal to the R.S.S. to use their wisdom and work

judiciously. I ask them not to be rash and tactless. Do not be aggressive.

Those who are disloyal will have to go to Pakistan. Those who are still riding on two horses will have to quit Hindustan.

In the Congress those who are in power feel that by virtue of authority they will be able to crush the R.S.S. By "danda" you cannot suppress an organization. Moreover "danda" is meant for thieves and "dakus". Using of "danda" will not help much. After all, R.S.S. men are not thieves and dacoits. They are patriots. They love their country. Only their trend of thought is diverted. They are to be won over by Congressmen with love.

I appeal to labour leaders not to foment strikes and create disturbances. There is no alien power. It is easy to approach us now. Why should labour leaders not come straight to us and tell about the grievances of labour? The Trade Union Congress is working under the influence of Communists. The days of strike and hartal are gone. They were needed when we were fighting against a foreign power. Those tactics must cease now.

Give us time at least. Let us have three or four years' truce and see what we do.

For a strong army, industries for the production of necessary material are needed. And if there is labour unrest, a strong and formidable army cannot be built up.

At the last Industrial Conference the labour leaders agreed with us but still there was a one-day strike in Bombay.

If we all proceed on these lines, India will meet a disastrous end. Unless you produce more, how will you share the profits? India is not an industrial country. She is to be industrialized first. This sort of foolishness will only put obstacles in the way of the country.

■

HE RAISED THE STATUS OF INDIA

I ASK the States people to understand their responsibility and not to indulge in ruinous acts such as taking possession of the palaces and buildings of the Rulers.

We should act with courtesy and politeness. Paramountcy has lapsed and the Rulers have become free. The wiser among them have understood their duty. When the Rulers became independent, their patriotism asserted itself. While they seem to understand their duty as Rulers, we do not understand our responsibility as people.....

My heart is full of agony because I had to leave Mahatma Gandhi while he was fasting. Nowadays some Hindus go out of their way in their speeches to speak ill of Gandhiji. I do not consider these people Hindus at all. If anybody has raised the status of India in the world, it is Gandhiji. The penance and purification of mind which he is able to undergo, we are unable to do. Yet they behave as if they have the monopoly of patriotism, reason and commonsense.....

I appeal to you to implement Gandhiji's programme. Now is the time for testing your bravery and courage. Gandhiji has got us independence by his penance. I will tell you how you can have Ram Rajya as contemplated by him. The first thing to do is to achieve Hindu-Muslim unity. The second thing is removal of untouchability. The third thing is to attain self-sufficiency. We should make our own clothes. We should establish *gram panchayats* in villages. Preserve the best in your tradition and culture, and live for selfless devotion to your ideals. If you can do this, you are sure to achieve your goal and establish Ram Rajya.

ALL SOLDIERS OF FREEDOM'S ARMY

IN the course of your address you have mentioned some things which I have achieved and some which I have not, but there is one thing which I accept without reservation, viz., that I served Ahmedabad Municipality to the best of my capacity. I had unalloyed happiness in the tasks which I performed then. After all, to all of us, to serve your own city must give unmitigated pleasure and mental satisfaction which you cannot get in any other sphere. Further, to cleanse the dirt of the city is quite different from cleansing the dirt of politics. From the former you get a good night's rest while the latter keeps you worried and disturbed even at night.

Whatever else you have said is merely a proof of your love and I do not deserve your praise. You have mentioned about my having gone to jail several times. I was only one of the thousands who did so. We were all soldiers of freedom's army. I never realised that I was in prison. Actually it was the officers who watched us that felt that they were in prison. The only worry which afflicted us was what was happening outside. To tell you quite frankly, if as a result of what I have been doing at the Centre, I got imprisonment, I would welcome it, because from experience I have found that imprisonment is much sweeter.

As a result of our freedom struggle we have succeeded in eliminating foreign domination. But all that we had aspired for has not been achieved. We had hoped to achieve peace by getting rid of foreign domination. Actuated by the same motives we accepted partition, but subsequent events presented a different shape of things. Our prestige went up when we secured independence, but subsequent events brought it down. If in spite of having achieved independence Gandhiji has to fast today in order to achieve real Hindu-Muslim unity, it is a standing shame to us. In brief, our happiness at having won freedom has received a rude shock.

Reply to a civic address presented by the Bombay Municipal Corporation, January 16, 1948

We have just now heard people shouting that Muslims should be removed from India. Those who do so have gone mad with anger. A lunatic is something better than a person who is mad with rage. One can be treated, and perhaps cured, but the other loses complete control of himself. They do not realise that they stand to gain nothing by driving out a handful of Muslims. At the same time, we have to sympathise with these people who have lost their dear ones and their valuables. I have just now come from Rajkot. Thousands are coming to Kathiawar deprived of everything that they possessed. Anger rules their hearts and turns their minds completely. But we have to tolerate all this. At the same time, so long as we are in Government, we have to govern. If we cannot act as trustees for the entire population, irrespective of religion, caste or creed, we do not deserve to be where we are. Shouts like these cause me worry and agony. I frankly ask myself, "Are we to admit before the world that we are not fit to rule?"

All sorts of conjectures have been made about Gandhiji's fast. The truth is that while there is peace in Delhi, as you have in Bombay or elsewhere in India, Gandhiji says that this is the peace maintained by force and does not represent the unity of the heart. Gandhiji speaks, thinks and acts on an eminence which we cannot attain. We long to reach there, but we simply do not have the capacity to do so. He has reached a height where he is not swayed by anger or malice. He is full of love and affection. If we had such a pure heart as he has, we would have realised the difference. We cannot, therefore, govern as he would like us to do. Instead, we have to maintain the police and a strong army. The guilty have to be punished and wrongdoers censured. Those who indulge in such shoutings must, therefore, realise what the consequences of breaking the law would be.

I am a frank man. I say bitter things to Hindus and Muslims alike. At the same time, I maintain, as I have said a number of times, that I am a friend of Muslims. If Muslims do not accept me as such, they also act like mad men. They do not seem to understand the right or the wrong. But, for their attitude, I cannot forsake truth. I

cannot descend from the pedestal of duty. Some of them went to Gandhiji and complained about my Lucknow speech in which I had criticised them for not condemning Pakistan's attitude to Kashmir. They went and told Gandhiji many things and Gandhiji felt compelled to defend me. That also pained me, for, after all, I am not a weak person who should be defended by others.

You have referred to what we have been able to achieve, but I want you to realise that what we have achieved is incomplete. The real task is still in front of us, namely, the planning of the shape of things in the future in this country. Opportunities for doing so have come, but we do not seem to realise it. If we did so, we would not be acting in the manner in which we are doing at present.

The supreme task of the moment is to live up to the real spirit of what you have recounted in the address. It is in that spirit that we have decided to hand over Rs. 55 crores which we had agreed to allocate to Pakistan out of our cash balances. I can assure you that when we settled this sum we acted in a spirit of generosity and goodwill. The Financial Adviser of the Pakistan Government admitted that the settlement was generous; the London *Economist* was also of the same view. I made it clear then that not on any single item would I go before the Tribunal, but at the same time I emphasised that the whole agreement would be implemented simultaneously with the settlement on other issues. I could never have agreed to the proposition that all gains were theirs and losses ours. They, however, claimed it in isolation. We all decided that this was entirely wrong, and it should be resisted. Pakistan papers and spokesmen, when they heard of it, emitted poison. When Gandhiji undertook the fast, we thought we could clear the atmosphere. For, after all, when we are throwing money like water, why should we cavil at the payment of Rs. 55 crores if it meant some relief to Gandhiji's mental agony? We hope it will evoke some response from Pakistan. But if it does not, the fault is of our fate. It is true we have to take the people with us. But we have also to think of Gandhiji. We take a short-range view, while he takes a long-range one.

To all outward appearance, there is peace in Bombay city, but it is not the peace which existed here ten years ago, when the poison that has spread during the last seven years had not spoiled the atmosphere. When that peace will return, we do not know. We should, however, make efforts to that end. If we fail, we can only curse our stars. For it would be a misfortune of India.

Nevertheless, we cannot blind ourselves to the fact that we have achieved something by making India more united today than it was at any time during the past several centuries. We should unite more, but that requires a determined effort. In such united India, Muslims should feel as secure as the rest of the population. For this, however, Muslims will also have to change their outlook. They must forget the lesson of the two-nation theory which has been taught to them. We have to create an atmosphere in which Pakistan can go the way it likes, and India can follow its own course. You are distant from the scene of misery, privation and devastation. The bloodshed in Pakistan flows down to Delhi and turns people's minds. Here you can take a detached view. The nation's leader, Jawaharlal, has, during the last few months, aged by ten years. He is indescribably worried and anguished. I appeal to you to reflect on what is happening. Here you have token strikes merely to test leadership. Why should they have recourse to it? We can give them in writing that they are the leaders. If we cannot set our own house in order, we can never achieve the destiny of this country. There was a time when India's message had gone to other countries. Gandhiji re-enacted those scenes when he sent out the message of *ahimsa*, but now we seem to have fallen on different ways. We have to get out of this mess.

You have also referred to the needs of your Corporation and the scheme of Greater Bombay. You have asked for Central assistance. But you should realize that the Central Government is not foreign to you. It is your own. Bombay contributes to the Centre. You get your own money back. I realise that Bombay has to bear the burden, but Bombay occupies a pre-eminent position. It is the centre of political activity. India looks to Bombay for assistance. You have

reversed the process and wish now to look to the Centre for help. How can we resolve this conundrum? If we assist one city, others will claim similar assistance. Bombay is only one city, but India is yours. We cannot live on the capital accumulated by our predecessors. We must increase our income. We cannot for ever subsist on the reputation of our giants of the past like Sir Phirozshah Mehta and Sir Dinshah Wacha. The old days, when they ruled the city, are no more. Those days people were easily satisfied. Now they are in a perennial state of unrest. You have, therefore, to suffer criticism. But Bombay is fortunate that it has maintained its reputation, is proud of its achievement and jealously guards its interests. You should trade in those valuable commodities. Let the city be in the forefront of the cities of the world.

I had been to Calcutta. There I pointed out that the premier city of India did not deserve to be the dirtiest. But nobody dare amend the Corporation Act without which any improvement is impossible. Here you have a Constitution given by those old giants which has stood the test of time and proved to be an invaluable guide. You have now given franchise to all adults. Some are apprehensive, but you can take your voters with you by demonstrating your spirit of service and presenting them with solid achievements.

I once again thank you for your kindness in presenting me with this address and I assure you that I will always value this token of your affection and regard.

AWAKEN THE CONSCIENCE

I AM taking this opportunity of adding a few words to the powerful appeals which have already been made on behalf of the thousands of distressed women. During the recent disturbances which overspread both West and East Punjab and the Frontier and enmeshed a part of the beautiful

Kashmir Valley and Jammu province, nothing has degraded us more than the foul crimes and barbarities which have been inflicted on innocent women and children who have been forcibly torn from their kith and kin and subjected to most inhuman indignities and violence. Even the law of the jungle does not countenance such insensate wrongs; these are completely alien to the traditions of any society and civilization. There should be no place, therefore, in this world for wrong-doers of this type and it behoves us all to see that such transgressions of civilized conduct are put down with a strong and firm hand.

When I think of the sorrowful plight and miserable sufferings of these mothers and sisters, my heart fills with distress and grief. Women of education and breeding, many of whom had been nourished in the lap of luxury; all had led a peaceful and sheltered existence with those with whom they had ties of blood and affection; many were valuable treasures of poor men's houses which are now left desolate and ruined — all these have been uprooted from their natural surroundings and placed by the cruel hands of frenzied criminals into conditions of existence which shame humanity and all the virtues and qualities which go to make God's own creature—man. To rescue them from these living conditions and restore them to their original environments is, therefore, an essential mission if men's reputation is to be rehabilitated as that of human beings. Failure in this mission would mean that we are not fit to face the bar of human history and must go down to the future ages as those who degraded humanity to depths lower than those of beasts.

Those who have braved adversity and challenged obstructions and obstacles in this noble undertaking have deserved well of the nation and humanity whose cause they have tried to uphold. The results they have achieved may appear slight when compared to the dimensions of the problem, but if we consider how much concentrated effort, public zeal, patience and grit have been expended on the achievement of these results, we would be able to appreciate not only what has been done, but also what requires to be

done to salvage these treasures from the wrecks of human civilization.

It is obvious that an enterprise of such gigantic proportions cannot be successfully accomplished if we do not have both popular and official support. Such support must, therefore, be given by the Government and the people in both India and Pakistan. To withhold it would be contrary not only to solemn undertakings entered into by both the Governments, but also to all laws of social existence and codes of honour.

We have also to awaken the conscience of those who have perpetrated these wrongs or who have now acquired possession of these women as though they were goods and chattels for sale or articles of prize and booty. I would appeal to them to realize their error and to reflect what stakes are involved in their persistence in the wrong course which they have adopted. Neither the sacred name of religion which might have been invoked by them in perpetrating these wrongs nor the desire for vengeance, retaliation or plunder which might have actuated them can ever be pleaded in extenuation of the enormity of their misdeeds. Only repentance and restitution for the wrongs committed can bring them back into the fold of normal human beings.

This is, therefore, their opportunity for reclamation. Let them listen to the voice of their own conscience, to the injunctions of their own religion, to the rules of their own society, to the principles of their own existence and to the codes of honour and chivalry. Let them reflect on how they themselves would have felt if their own women-folk had to share the fate which, through their instrumentality, had befallen these innocent victims of human folly and lust. I have no doubt that if they bestow a moment's thought on these considerations, they will themselves realize the errors of their ways and offer to facilitate the task of all those who are engaged in this mission of rescue and succour.

I should also like to add a word for those unfortunate and grief-stricken relations who have lost their mothers, wives and sisters. I can well imagine what torments affect their minds and what agony afflicts their hearts. I also know

that many are facing and are prepared to face perils of all kinds to get back their dear ones. I have not come across any who is not anxious to claim them back into his home. I would advise them not to lose heart but to persist in their efforts to trace them. After all, where so many thousands are involved, it is impossible for official agencies alone to discover or follow the track. Individual or collective non-official effort, backed by official support, would probably achieve much more than mere official action. I hope, therefore, that neither disappointments nor temporary set-backs will damp their ardour and that they will pursue their task with doggedness and determination.

To the grief-stricken women themselves, I should like to send a message of sympathy and comfort. Their misery and plight have stirred our hearts. They are constantly in our thoughts. Whenever we can get at them, we will do so. They need be in no doubt either of the genuineness of the anxiety of their relations to claim them back or the zeal and intensity of the efforts to rescue them. I realise what cups of bitterness and misery they must be drinking every minute or hour of their life, but patience and faith have moved mountains and melted the coldest hearts. Let them, therefore, persist in both, and I am sure they will invoke God's blessings for the success of their rescuers and awaken the conscience of the wrong-doers.

OURS IS A SECULAR STATE

HENCEFORTH you are going to have elected municipalities. The elections will be on the basis of adult franchise which is being established everywhere in India now. It is rather difficult for people to make good use of their franchise when most of them are illiterate and inexperienced, but it is the call of the times and we cannot act in any other way.

Reply to an address presented by Hyderabad and Secunderabad municipalities and the Hindi Prachar Sabha, Hyderabad, August 14, 1919

One man's rule is much easier. It works more expeditiously and efficiently, if he is the right man. On the other hand, popular rule is very difficult. It cannot be speedy. Everyone's opinion has to be taken and all sorts of influences, pulls and pressures cause work to be done less efficiently than could otherwise be the case. The services who run the administration have also to adjust themselves.

Hyderabad's economy today is in a bad way. It has to be improved. The countryside needs hospitals, medicines and equipment. It needs education as much as food. The masses will not know the difference that freedom makes to their lives except through a better and easier fulfilment of these needs.

If we do not spend crores on maintaining the kind of army that will ensure India's integrity, we would be defaulters. One has to keep in view what a neighbour does. Pakistan says it has one enemy in the world — India. As this is their openly declared opinion, we have to remain alert.

I would rather wish that there were no fighting between India and Pakistan. Those who want war are insane. We have no such desire.

We have to create conditions in both countries in which Hindus and Muslims can live amicably together. Especially in Hyderabad, I want to say, let us bury the past. The clean thing is to purge our hearts of animosity, now that we have broadly achieved what we wanted. It is cowardice to hit a fallen person. We should rather give him a helping hand and lift him up. The Muslims here are not foreigners. They are from among ourselves. Gandhiji always proclaimed that if we want true Swarajya, we should do away with untouchability ; we should unite Hindus and Muslims. If we want to improve our economic condition, we should make our own cloth. Besides, we should have one national language.

On these four pillars Gandhiji tried to build Indian Swarajya to the end of his life. I was associated with him. Five minutes before he died, he had been been talking to me for an hour.

Minutes later, a mad man killed him. But his words live on in my mind. What did he want at that moment? He had wanted to go to Karachi to convince the Muslim majority there that it was in their interest to keep the Hindus well, just as he had tried to convince the Hindus here. He had worked for this day and night, in the capital and the countryside, because otherwise peace in the country was impossible.

To Muslims in India, I appeal for a change of heart in the interests of amity. They should also tell Pakistan that fighting solves no problems. Instead of the fighting that has been going on for two or three years, let them convince the Kashmiri Muslims. If they favour Pakistan, we are not the ones to keep them forcibly.

But they want to remain with us. Ours is a secular state. It was not made secular for a few Kashmiri Muslims. There are three crore other Muslims too in India, almost as many as there are in Pakistan. Each one of these should try to convince their relations and friends of the futility of conflict.

Let us end the era of conflict. Let them run their own affairs and leave us to run ours, instead of pulling our legs. Only then can cordiality prevail. Let us settle the points at issue. There is enough water in the Indus and the Punjab rivers for both countries. Let us sit down and talk it over peacefully.

We have recently concluded an agreement after seven days of discussion. But the agreement will be deemed to have succeeded only if Hindu migrants return to Pakistan and Muslim migrants return to India. Otherwise all talk of implementation of the agreement will be merely empty words.

In our secular state, we have tried to ensure that the Muslims enjoy all their rights as equal citizens. Any violation of this leads to reaction which is undesirable. We have trouble coping with such reaction. Pakistan met the same problem by just eliminating its communal question; they have evicted the minority. That kind of approach makes nonsense of the talk of amity.

I am sure they will have to agree ultimately to let the Hindus return to their homes and restore their properties. The same will hold good for Muslims here.

The Muslims of Hyderabad should live in full confidence and security. They are citizens of India with the same rights as other citizens. If we cannot guarantee this, we are unfit to rule. We have to banish discrimination of caste and creed from Hyderabad. Hindus and Muslims must unite and improve the lot of the villagers for whom nothing has been done so far.

I have come here to see things for myself, tell you of our aims and ideals and find out your needs and ambitions. I want to dispel any apprehensions you may have. For one thing, I want to remove the impression some people have that we harbour any ill-feeling towards Hyderabad on account of the past mistakes of some people here. We harbour no such rancour. Let no one now nurse any ambitions to kill and gain so-called martyrdom. Whatever is legal is fully acceptable, whatever the cost. Now it is up to the Ministers to see what is to be done about past crimes. The people who were responsible for these things in a big way have already run away. But I need your co-operation to ensure that no innocent person suffers in their stead.

Another thing I want to say is that our decades of slavery — not just in Hyderabad but all over India — have left us inert. Our millions of unemployed must be turned to productive work. In greater production lies India's redemption. Self-rule has raised many hopes and expectations; but these can be met only out of greater production. There are some who think we should immediately apportion out whatever India has right now. But that would be a sharing of poverty. That — the way the Communists want it to be done — would be madness. Even their mentors, the Chinese, have not done it that way. Assault, murder and pillage among poor villagers is hardly the way to bring about Communism. It is a blot on Communism itself. I have said before, and let me warn again, that I will root out such people. I have not seen such atrocities anywhere. What I particularly deplore is the sources of these people's

arms and ammunition. Who are the brains behind this kind of thing? Are they from outside Hyderabad? Or are they in the Nalgonda area? No, out there they would be picked up by the military. They are right here in Hyderabad or Secunderabad, sitting pretty.

We have today given the Hyderabad administration an experienced person from our services to work as prime minister here. But we can ill afford to spare such people. We are very short of skilled administrators — the kind of people who are serving you at the risk of their lives. There is some talk of natives and outsiders. I too agree that local people should man the services as far as possible. But you should think of India as your country. If there are able enough local people, they are bound to come up in India. All India, every province, is open to such persons.

About five or six crore rupees are being spent on the police. This is too much. Money would be much better spent on the Tungabhadra Project, the Godavari Project, projects which will give us more foodgrains, more cotton. Hyderabad need never lack these things if the local politicians and the Hyderabad people had been strong and wise. They have not even been able to handle the job of policing their area, with the result that police had to be brought from outside — from Madras, Mysore, etc.

Under such conditions, complaints against outsiders have no meaning. Recently there was some rioting and police firing in Raipur. It was noised abroad that it was a food riot. For one thing, people with a family of four draw rations for fourteen, and still expect rationing to work. For another thing, there was enough stock of foodgrains in Raipur. But the way to get at it was to approach your own representatives in government, not to loot the store, stone the police and create disorder. This is no way to run Swarajya. Such things bring a bad name to your State. Hyderabad's bad reputation reflects on India's name. You may criticise the Government of India and its administration today. But tomorrow you will have to run your affairs yourselves. Let me warn you, power will come into your own hands very soon. It is your heritage and you will

have it. But you must prepare yourselves for the responsibility ; you must organize yourselves and have big hearts. The Congress too must do likewise. It should keep the door open for good men. Wise and able men, who want to take part in politics, should also be willing to follow the rules and disciplines involved in it.

HAVE FAITH IN HUMAN GOODNESS

I HAVE now spent almost a week in Calcutta studying the feelings and problems of Bengal at first hand and helping the Chief Minister and his colleagues with my advice on the many difficulties which confront them and the people of Bengal in their most delicate and onerous task of implementing the Agreement which has been entered into between India and Pakistan. Never before have I felt the handicap of my health so bitterly and poignantly as during these busy days, for that has deprived me of the opportunity of personally extending, to our unfortunate brothers and sisters, who have suffered and borne so much, a few words of sympathy and solace.

My first task this evening, therefore, is to ask them to extend a little consideration and understanding to me in my physical incapacity and to say that they have constantly been in my thoughts, and their sufferings and sorrows have throughout engaged my attention during the many wakeful hours of the day and the night which I have devoted, whether in discussion or alone, to the cruel fate which an unrelenting destiny has visited on them.

Throughout the critical weeks, my mind and heart have been with them. When I felt that an opportunity had come

Sardar Patel went to Calcutta in mid-April, 1950 and stayed there for about a week. He held intensive discussions on the measures to be taken to implement the Nehru-Liaquat Pact on minorities. On April 21, 1950 he broadcast an appeal to the people from Calcutta to co-operate in this "big-hearted attempt to heal the wounds and to reverse the process of misunderstanding and bitterness which have unfortunately marred our relations with Pakistan."

my way to contribute towards their speedy relief and alleviation of the pangs which tormented them, I rushed to Calcutta to assuage their feelings, closely and intimately to appreciate their situation, and to make them understand, as dispassionately as possible, their duty in this critical hour.

The question before West Bengal is not so much whether the Agreement is good or bad, beneficial or harmful, but whether in the face of the stark reality of a partitioned Bengal under two independent Governments, and placed in the present set of circumstances, any other peaceful means are open to it to bring hope and faith and succour and relief to the unfortunate victims of the recent disturbances on both sides of the border. I have asked and looked in vain for an alternative.

In a situation of this kind, which involves the life, property, honour and fate of millions, I think that in the interest of these unfortunate sufferers, Government are entitled to a more helpful approach from their critics to such momentous problems. In a democratic Government there can be no question of muzzling or silencing critics, except of course those who have the responsibility of sharing the burden of Government ; nevertheless, an international agreement, pledging the honour and solemn word of a country, does impose a certain measure of restraint and responsibility and a certain code of international propriety which the critics would do well constantly to bear in mind. I think we are entitled to ask for that ; if the critics have no practical alternative to suggest, the pledged word of the country demands their co-operation and support.

I know that in the light of past history of agreements which have fallen in disuse, or pledges which have been broken, people approach the latest Agreement with sceptical cynicism and even convinced disbelief. The researches in such past made by critics have yielded no new discoveries or facts which were not known to those who undertook upon themselves the burden of implementing the Agreement. Human nature, as far as I am aware, places no limit of time on its capacity to change ; even death-bed repentance or remorse acquires a religious merit of its own. Therefore,

to accept, on the basis of past remissness, future bad faith as an unalterable fact denotes a lack of faith in the basic goodness of human nature which constitutes the very element of our philosophy.

After all, I have yielded to none in past doubts and future fears of the successful implementation of such agreements, but belief and trust have also a place in one's mental equipment and these have helped to make up my mind to give the agreement a fair trial. We ask nothing more of the sons and daughters of West Bengal. Even those who expressed dissatisfaction with the Agreement recognise that having once concluded it there is no option but to implement the same. In that event does it not behove them to make an unreserved and sincere attempt to do so rather than to express cramping fears or demoralising doubts?

I also know that my West Bengal friends are genuinely worried about the concept of an Islamic state and the consequences which, in the light of history, such a concept is taken to entail. In the face of a clear acceptance of the fundamental principles of democracy by the Prime Minister of Pakistan, we have no alternative but to mark time and to put it to the test. The one thing that made a profound impression on me in accepting the Pakistan Prime Minister's assurances at their face value was the earnestness and visible sincerity with which he laid stress on the need for bringing the two countries closer in our life-time. We have at least the background of previous associations and of past friendships and goodwill; the new generation will grow under the full belief and faith in absolute separatism.

I would therefore ask you to approach the Pakistan Prime Minister's assurance on the matter in a spirit of, and a desire for, coming closer together than drifting apart. If we drift apart, the task of keeping minorities within the geographical limits of our respective frontiers would become immeasurably difficult, whereas if we make a genuine attempt at closer understanding with trust and confidence in each other, there is some chance of minorities on either side living a life of peace and security to which they are entitled under any civilised government.

I regard it profitless at this stage to enter into any disputation of respective responsibility for the tragedies that have occurred on both sides of the border. I can tell my West Bengal friends quite candidly that it is the ugly and deplorable incidents which happened on our side of the border that made a world of difference to our capacity and freedom to deal with the problem more effectively and expeditiously. To counsel firmness and consistency in such circumstances, or to charge Government with weakness, hesitancy or inconsistency, is to ignore the elementary rule of prudence that one can act correctly only when one's conscience is clear and not clouded by one's own guilt. Those who demand more heroic remedies will do well to ponder over this simple fact. Similarly, you cannot talk of peace and in the same breath raise clouds of suspicion and of distrust. If the talk of peace within the country has any meaning, it is the bounden duty of all who profess to guide public opinion to think, say and act in such a manner as not to rouse the latent or active forces of discontent, hostility and bitterness. In such a contingency, the power of the pen has to be wielded with a grave sense of responsibility. Where the destinies of millions are involved, the instrument of speech is to be used to soothe rather than to hurt, to assuage rather than to alienate, to heal rather than to wound.

Some of my friends have charged Government with having descended from the lofty principles of the new Constitution to the acceptance of a communal principle in the composition of Ministries. It is rather difficult for me to appreciate the force of their argument. Is it their contention that the Constitution lays down no responsibility for ensuring that the minorities are suitably represented in Government? Does the Constitution, in any manner, bar temporary expedients of restoring confidence among the minorities? Do they wish that we should have left the Hindus of East Bengal without any means of approach to the highest executive of the state?

When we removed reservation for minorities from the Constitution, I made it quite clear that this imposed a great obligation on the majority community to give the

minorities their due. Is it seriously contended that the giving of a ministership to a minority is the gift of something to which the minority is not entitled, at least at a time when its confidence in the majority is shaken? To question that part of the Agreement is to betray a mentality which is entirely opposed to the secular basis of our own Constitution and a complete ignorance of the basic acceptance of a national state.

Let me now briefly explain why I feel that the Indo-Pakistan Agreement gives a reasonable chance, if worked in the proper spirit, for retrieving the ground that has been lost during the last two years. For the first time, we have provided for supervision and control over the day-to-day implementation of the Agreement. The Central Minister of the Government of India and a representative of minorities in the Provincial Cabinet of Pakistan will be there to ensure that the Agreement is implemented in Pakistan in letter and in spirit. The Central Minister would be associated with the functioning of the Minority Commission which would in its turn be the watchdog of the minority's interest in East Pakistan. Thus, for the first time, a readily available avenue of redress has been provided to a minority community and it should not be difficult for us to find out any margin between professions and practice. In these circumstances, it seems to me essential that we, on our part, should give no excuse or justification for any failure of the Agreement in East Pakistan.

The policy of the Government is clear and unequivocal. They will strain their utmost to implement this Agreement and, at the same time, to make the lot of those who have come away as happy as possible. In the sacred task of extending relief to them, we shall not recognise any State boundaries, nor stint any resources that we can command. In that task, the Central Government will hold the hand of the West Bengal Government to the utmost of its strength and capacity. We are already encouraged in our efforts by the support which we have received from all State Governments and the promise of help and co-operation which they have offered. We shall also undertake the task of rehabili-

tating those who might eventually decide to make India their permanent abode. I would, however, appeal to them to lend a helping hand in this two-fold task by complying with such directions and arrangements as the Government of West Bengal might make for their relief or rehabilitation, whether inside or outside West Bengal. It has pained me considerably that interested persons should exploit this opportunity for dissuading refugees from leaving for their allotted places outside West Bengal and for pressing upon them the need for asking for relief or rehabilitation within the area of West Bengal itself.

I have faith in West Bengal and its people. I have belief in its destiny and it is in this spirit that I make an earnest appeal to my friends to rise to the occasion and play their part in this critical hour of the nation.

Finally, friends, as one who can conscientiously say that he has not allowed to let slip one single opportunity of promoting the cause of minorities in Pakistan and of safeguarding their interest by all such means as were open to us in this country, it is my earnest appeal to you to make up your minds quickly to give the Indo-Pakistan Agreement a fair trial.

Let us not indulge in impotent rage or mere supercharged emotional outbursts. Instead, let us make a constructive, helpful and whole-hearted contribution to the relief of suffering humanity on both sides of the border and help make their lot a more tolerable one. The lot of mortal existence is already a hard one ; let us not make it harder by refusing to avail ourselves of the opportunities for softening or sweetening it. Nor let us make any false move which would put us in the wrong and invoke for us the verdict of history that we shirked our responsibilities in an hour of crisis when there was a chance of saving millions from a catastrophic end. Let not emotions and prejudices overpower our reason. Let us face the problem as human realists comprehending fully the limitations within which we have to work and taking our stand on trust and confidence when a reasonable atmosphere has been created for these virtues to play their part. I am sure that if we approach the

present situation in this spirit and if we discharge to the full obligations which we have incurred under a sense of national honour and prestige, we shall have done our part in a big-hearted attempt to heal the wounds and to reverse the process of misunderstanding and bitterness which have unfortunately marred our relationship with Pakistan ever since its inception. If we succeed, we might, in a humble way, have started an era of peace, understanding and good neighbourliness. If, God forbid, we fail, we shall have had the satisfaction of having explored the last possibility of a peaceful solution of a potentially dangerous problem.

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ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

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trial future of India, the confidence which had been rudely shaken by the last Budget. Our Commerce Minister is also an experienced industrialist. Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee, the Minister for Industry and Supply, is not a Congressman, but an able, painstaking and conscientious public servant. I am quite certain that all these Ministers would like to secure your co-operation in making India industrially great. You will also see from this that the Cabinet represents the various sections of India's political life. All the Ministers are popular representatives. They represent you as much as they represent the poor. You should, therefore, disabuse yourself of any impression that the Cabinet is in any way hostile to your interests. We all realise that no country can prosper without industry ; nor can labour in the modern sense survive without industry. We have a vast country with enormous potentialities. We have to see how we can all function effectively in its interests. We have given you as first evidence of our *bona fides* the appointments to which I have already referred. It is now for you and all of us not to mar but to make our future. In building it, it is obvious that you have to destroy also. In the process of building our future, therefore, we may have to do away with some of the appendages of the past. But there is no reason why any of us should be frightened of destruction.

You have asked why we accepted partition. It is a long story, but you should be able to appreciate matters better because Calcutta had tasted the bitter experience of the League Ministry. Businessmen thought of leaving the city, but I advised them to stay on because I was certain that no power on earth could take away Calcutta from India. Although, therefore, we all have to suffer the blow and shock of partition, if we are able to extract good out of evil I have no doubt that we shall eventually profit and not lose in the transaction. We have now to settle down to the task of reconstruction. In the last few months we have had to shoulder a burden that would have broken the back of any Government, but we have, I feel confident, been able to acquit ourselves creditably in dealing with this critical time. In the task ahead we have to take labour

and capital with us. If we fail to do so, we are doomed to disappointment. I have no doubt whatsoever that the conflict between labour and capital, and, may I say, also the Government, at this stage would be nothing but ruinous to the country. We have just now finished one chapter of exploitation. We should see that we do not find ourselves entering into another chapter in which we are exploited by a different type of forces which nevertheless are destructive and even more dangerous because they are internal. We must remember that socialism in England came after the latter had advanced considerably on the road to industrialisation. I am convinced that any promotion of a conflict between labour and capital at this stage would deal a disastrous blow to India's industrial future. But that does not mean that Government would submit to the exploitation of labour. It will secure for labour its just share by the only civilised method of doing so, namely, arbitration. Arbitration had shown the way in Ahmedabad. There is no reason why it should not be successful elsewhere. After all democracy can never rule by force. It can only rule by the consent of the people. That consent, if forced, can only have adverse reactions. You have also asked for a clarification of our policy regarding nationalisation. The policy of the Government of India in regard to nationalisation will take some time to shape. The cry of nationalisation is being raised merely to cause panic. If you get panicky, you fall into the trap. You should yourself realise that industry is to be established before it can be nationalised. India is yet industrially in an infant stage. In England they have a Labour Government, but, despite the fact that they are so much industrially advanced, they are not going ahead with nationalisation at any rapid pace. The result is that the Labour Government does not have to shoot people in order to maintain industrial peace and keep up the pace of production. By joint efforts of labour and capital and Government, production is being increased. On the other hand, in India we seem to believe in the miracle that labour should produce less and get more money. The result is strikes which retard production. Less production

means more misery and privations. We have got to break this vicious circle. Take for instance the coal industry. There is demand for more coal for our industrial as well as domestic consumption. In order to encourage labour to produce more we gave generous terms, but labour was given instructions to slow down. As regards wagons—in the matter of transport bottleneck both Railways and Industry have to join hands to get over this obstacle.

You have also referred to the question of control. We realised that in the prevailing circumstances control had to be removed, but none dared to take the step. We then felt we must have an impartial survey. A committee was appointed which recommended decontrol. But the representatives of the Services were against it. We then thought over the matter afresh and came to the decision that controls must ultimately go. If transport is such a bottleneck as you say it is, I would advise the Minister to have a similar enquiry by a Board, but I can assure you that whatever can be done to mend matters will be done both in this and other matters. I wish also to assure you that Government knows that it must take you with it if it is to succeed in its aim of increased production.

Regarding strikes, I feel that it is deplorable that they have been made so cheap. They are now props of leadership of labour and have ceased to be a legitimate means of redressing grievances of labour. In Ahmedabad we had resorted to arbitration with the result that both labour and employers had prospered to the advantage both of the city and the country at large. The maxim should be "produce and then distribute equitably". Instead they fight before even producing wealth. It is to restore sanity and a fair deal between labour and employers and to give a correct lead to labour that we set up the Indian National Trade Union Congress. But then some industrialists themselves do not realize in what their good lies and purchase peace by submitting to the blackmail of communists. It is clear that such peace can only be shortlived. Labour is not being properly led and must be rescued. It is a matter of patience and sympathy. Firmness in dealing with labour agitators

and in restoring discipline among labour ranks is indisputably necessary. If we cannot be firm, we might cease to govern. Government cannot allow intimidators to function with immunity. All the three parties, Labour, Capital and Government, have common interests and common outlook in many a field. We must act with mutual consultation. All of us must have courage to face facts and deal with them in a practical way. Hesitancy is out of place ; boldness is clearly indicated. But at the same time you should show understanding and sympathy to those whom you utilise as the means of production. It is only then that you can win labour round. You should educate labour into correct ways of conduct. Public opinion can never be won by following the path of least resistance.

LABOUR IS AT THE CROSSROADS

I WAS anxious for a long time to come to Bombay, but there were so many problems to tackle that I was not able to do so till four days ago. Bombay has always a soft corner in my heart because it has given a lead to the rest of India for many decades and I hope it will continue to do so.

The recent disturbances after partition caused worry, but I am glad that now there is marked improvement in the communal situation and peace has been established. Now that the country has achieved freedom, it is in our hands to make or mar our future ; and, therefore, every effort should be made to make the nation happy and prosperous so that it might uplift itself and also rise in the estimation of the world.

The future depends on whether we step up production of food, cloth, iron, steel, cement and other essential articles both for the civil population and defence needs. This is necessary not only for banishing hunger and disease from the country but also for consolidating the freedom which

we have won after so many years of struggle.

Labour is today at the crossroads ; if they take the right road and contribute all their energies to the task of strengthening the country, India will have a glorious future ; but if they are misled and take the wrong road, they will go down into the ditch and it will lead everyone, labour as well as all others, to destruction and ruin.

The workers should remember that they do not work only for their maintenance. They are not animals who are driven by the whip. They should realize their important role in the country's progress and ask themselves what they are working for. On their efficiency and hard work depends the greatness of the country. They should realize the effects of their action on crores of semi-starved and meagrely clothed countrymen in the villages. It is the workers' duty to think of them. Nothing should be done to harm their interests.

When the Socialist young men called for a token strike, the result was a tremendous loss in wages and production. To an average worker, it meant a day's holiday and the loss of one day's wage. But did they realize the collective losses in wages, the lakhs of yards of cloth which remained unproduced and the loss of much-needed essential goods? There is already acute scarcity of rationed cloth and what can be gained by reducing it further? True leadership lies in convincing labour that it should stand by the nation and deliver the goods and not in destructive efforts to assert their leadership.

The recent three-year industrial truce agreed upon in Delhi was meant for undertaking an all-out industrial drive for making India strong and prosperous. Pandit Nehru's fervent broadcast appeal the previous day also called upon them to avoid strikes at all costs. The Port Trust Workers' strike in Bombay is an illustration of the utter futility of such strikes prompted by reckless leadership. It was holding up food imports which were urgently needed to avert hunger in many parts of the country and among lakhs of refugees pouring in from the Punjab and Sind. This was Government work where the profit-motive was not involved, unlike in the case of private enterprise. Consequently, in the interests

of our own people, army units had to be employed and the full responsibility for unemployment of these labourers rested squarely on irresponsible leaders.

The workers must always keep before them the interests of crores of our countrymen and throw off the destructive leadership and muster strong to support the best interests of the country. . . .

If the Socialists are bent upon snatching the leadership, there is no objection to handing it over to them. After all our mission has been accomplished. We do not want to hand over a ruined concern but a going concern for constructive progress, not for wrecking the future of the country. The Socialists threaten to break away from the Congress. The doors are open. But I would urge them not to mar the progress of the young nation which has after all got the rare opportunity to mould itself according to its dreams and desires after many hundred years.

I would repeatedly like to persuade you to keep away from this strike fever since "produce or perish" is the crucial question facing us at this juncture. Otherwise you would yourselves stand to suffer the consequences. The freedom that we have secured is for regenerating the country and not for bringing it down. Tremendous natural resources lie hidden under our soil. Why not exploit them to the best advantage? Why not increase production in cloth, steel, cement, etc., and solve the housing and other acute problems? Why not produce more coal and other essential goods so that India may be great and strong and none dare challenge her security? Why not be self-sufficient in vital goods now imported at tremendous cost? If there is surplus production, it can be exported to make the nation prosperous.

I, therefore, advise you that if you want more wages, you should increase productivity and step up production. There is really no difference of opinion between the Congress and the Socialists over policy and programme as was illustrated at the last A.I.C.C. meeting. Why then all these disruptive and disintegrating activities? I would, therefore, request the Socialists to join hands with the Congress in formulating a five-year programme and carrying it out in a

constructive spirit to make the nation strong. The country needs two things, firstly, peace on the basis of Hindu-Muslim amity, and, secondly, consolidation as was exemplified by the merger of States.

When I say bitter things to industrialists, Socialists and Labour, it is not my intention to hurt their feelings, but there is a fire raging in my heart which I want to impart to them. I am speaking to them so bluntly because I have their interests at heart; and I ask you not to be misled by the sweet words of those who are really your enemies. The proposed labour rally was intended to show the backing of ten lakh workers behind the Port Trust, but I would like you to remember that this rare opportunity of creating a strong and happy India is fast passing from their hands.

Bombay should see that there is no strike during the period of industrial truce for the next three years and that production goes on full steam ahead. If there is any grievance, it should be carried to the Government which is their own, and I am sure it would be satisfactorily solved. I myself am all for your getting the legitimate fruits of your labour. The Congress stands by them. Where then is the need for strikes, 'go slow' tactics or stoppage of work?

NEED FOR PEACE

THE need for industrial and communal peace in the country is imperative. Peace is necessary for stabilizing the newly won freedom and for leading the country on the road to progress and prosperity. . . .

Whatever qualities I have were derived from Mahatma Gandhi. . . .

With the achievement of freedom, the days of jail going and shooting and lathi charges are over. There is no longer any need to adopt those methods to coerce the

Government which is yours and which you can change if you so desire.

The various associations of Ahmedabad, including the Millowners Association and the Textile Labour Association, are noted for their shrewd practical commonsense. The relations between Labour and Capital, as represented by the Textile Labour Association and the Millowners Association, are unique in the whole country, and credit for that achievement should go to Mahatma Gandhi. There have been the least number of strikes in the city owing to the machinery of arbitration evolved by Mahatma Gandhi. Even the members of the Maskati market, an organization of cloth merchants, settled the dispute of its members without going to a court of law. Workers should not fall a prey to the ways of agitators who use strikes to achieve their own selfish ends.

As regards the gradual withdrawal of all controls imposed by the previous Government, the Government of India seeks the co-operation of merchants in loosening the economic grip of foreign countries over India. They should place the interests of the country before their own self.

It is not the intention of the Government to enter the field of business and trade. It is the sole preserve of the business and commercial community. The reputation of the mercantile community of India has been lowered in the estimation of the ordinary people. They must endeavour to restore their good name.

I appeal to Labour and Capital to honour the industrial truce recently reached at the Delhi Conference. The truce does not mean that no justice would be done to labour if it has a legitimate grievance. They should seek arbitration without resort to strikes. If they failed to produce enough to meet the needs of the country, they would not be able to keep pace with the progressive nations of the world.

I regret that after we have won freedom from foreign rule, the country is not as happy and prosperous as we hoped it to be. Unforeseen problems confront us and we are engaged in solving them. Any other Government in a similar predicament would have collapsed.

PROSPERITY THROUGH HIGHER PRODUCTION

THIS is the Second National Trade Union Congress. There was no trade union in India before 1920 when the Trade Union Congress was founded with the blessings of Gandhiji and under his guidance. You may be surprised to know that it was started by a young lady from a mill-owner's family. Seth Ambalal Sarabhai is a big industrialist of Ahmedabad. It was his sister, Anusuya Bai—called the goddess of the workers—who started it and Gandhiji blessed her.

Her colleague, Shankar Lal Banker, and some of us were the first to join in the work. It was something new for us. Labour organization work had begun only three years earlier. In those days, too, Gandhiji launched the struggle in Champaran in the interests of landless agricultural labourers, the movement in Ahmedabad among mill workers and the agitation in nearby Kheda district in Gujarat against excessive land-tax. Those three movements were the true beginnings of our national life.

Gandhiji filtered out all the dirt from trade unionism and moulded the movement according to Indian culture.

I recall the first strike at Ahmedabad. Strikes in those days used to be broken up by police acting at the behest of mill-owners. But this time there was a new awakening among the workers, because their organizer was a mill-owner's sister, a millionaire's daughter, along with a servant of the people, Shankar Lal Banker, a Congress leader, and their adviser was Gandhiji himself. When the workers were weakening in their resolve, Gandhiji pledged himself to fast till an honourable settlement was arrived at between the workers and the mill-owners, even a fast-unto-death if need be. During the five or six days, while he fasted, we were all worried and worked feverishly for a settlement. The workers were worried too, and so were many mill-owners. Ultimately, it was agreed that arbitration would be used, not force or strikes, to settle disputes between workers and mill-owners. For 15-20 years, wherever there was a

dispute Gandhiji would represent the labourers, the chief of the mill-owners' association would represent the mill-owners and a non-partisan, judicious non-official would be chosen to arbitrate. As a result, there were very few strikes in Ahmedabad and the industries there prospered most.

At this time, the Ahmedabad workers were fortunate to find Gulzarilal Nanda who left Punjab after taking his M.A. degree and settled down among them to devote his life to their work. Khandubhai also came along and strengthened their organization.

After three years, a Trade Union Congress was held with Lala Lajpat Rai in the chair. In later years, Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Bose were among its presidents.

But the Ahmedabad Trade Union remained aloof from it. Because, we felt, the western type of trade union runs on different lines. The red brand of trade unionism which came along does not care to confine itself to clean means. In fact, after encouraging strikes and strife, they have come today to such a pass that they force the police to fire on workers. Gandhiji foresaw this and advised us not to involve ourselves in this kind of racket. In trying to work in Ahmedabad, in Gujarat and elsewhere, we felt the need for intelligent and active workers trained to work on our lines. Hence the foundation of the Hindusthan Mazdoor Sangh, a separate organization, to train workers to work among labourers for the benefit of the working class and the nation. I was in that Sangh. So were Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Shankar Rao Deo, Jairamdas, besides Gulzarilal and Khandubhai. We began to train many workers from Ahmedabad and to send them out. The Indore organization was also intimately connected with Ahmedabad from the very beginning.

During the last fight for independence, the struggle of 1942, the Ahmedabad labourers did what no one else could. If others had acted as they did, whether underground or elsewhere, our struggle would have succeeded in three months instead of having to be extended over three years.

Many people today ask where the I.N.T.U.C. stands? Is it against strikes? Yes, we are. We did strike for three months in 1942 when the alien government had to be

fought. Others fled from the field then. But now, when the strike is undesirable, they cry for strikes.

My point is that the organization in Ahmedabad provided political and national training; others indulge only in political exploitation of the labourers.

Now the Government is in Congress hands. The foreign rulers have gone. The Indian Princes too have handed over power to their people. Why should the workers now fight the mill-owners? They don't depend on them now for justice. Power is in our hands. The police is ours; so is the army. What is there to get from the mill-owners by striking?

Fortunately, there is not so much poverty among you as among our rural brethren. Your employment gives you some sort of a fixed income, but they suffer from under-employment, fitful employment for the three or four busy months in the agricultural season. We have to think of those under-fed millions also. Not that you should give them something from your pocket. I am against the alms mentality. Rather we should produce more. Our long period of slavery and the years of the recent war have drained the life-blood of our economy. Now that we have taken over power, the onus is on us to rejuvenate it; new blood has to be poured in drop by drop. There is no other way.

It would be foolish to think that as soon as the British left, we could just divide among ourselves what is left. They took away what they could, but we have to enrich this impoverished country again by further production. Whoever labours shall rule. . . .

Some people want the Government to run everything, leaving out the capitalists. But the Government of India today has not the resources to run all industry itself. If we try, we will not be able to run it for twelve months and we will suffer losses. We have to act with discretion.

THE ECONOMIC SITUATION

WE must bear in mind the comparatively recent growth of our industries and the short history of our industrialisation. India has been looked upon for ages as a predominantly agricultural country. Those who swore by that statement little realised the wealth of resources that were available in the country and which could, if properly tapped and efficiently exploited, place this country in the forefront of industrialised countries of the world. We have, however, to realise that in the process of this industrialisation we have to make up the leeway of decades, nay, centuries. There has never been and never can be anything like an industrial revolution in this country which would quickly transform its agricultural economy into a predominantly industrial one.

Our industrialisation, starting at a time of more progressive ideas than characterised the industrial revolution of Europe, has naturally to take note of modern ideas of the relationship between employers and labour and between these and the general community. It has also to take note of what would in the context of 18th century conditions, be severe handicaps and drawbacks. These naturally place limitations on the freedom of individual initiative and enterprise. They naturally circumscribe the limits within which personal ability, talent and competence can function. If you add to these complexities those of international finance and trade movements and the big handicap of foreign domination, you have a picture of difficulties which would make even stout hearts tremble. I am glad to say, however, that through the foresight, the spirit of adventure and the nationalistic fervour of our pioneers of industry in the past, and the interest taken in our industrialisation by a comparatively small band of industrialists, we have been able to establish centres of industrial installations here and there which form the nucleus of our industrial effort today.

There can be no denying the fact that the two world

Speech at a conference of businessmen, industrialists and labour leaders, Delhi, November 11, 1949

wars have made a tremendous difference to the pace of our progress. The operation of the nationalistic forces in the country has not failed to affect the pace and character of our industrialisation. Nevertheless, I feel that those who try to find fault with our present industrial structure or the policies which generally govern our conduct in the industrial field will do well to remember that there is another side of the story without which our appreciation of the situation cannot be complete.

There is also another object in my emphasizing the difficulties which we have had to face in the process of industrialisation. We are today faced with an economic situation without parallel in our history. After the end of the war we succeeded to an inheritance of substantial foreign balances and a comparatively large cash balance in our own country. Today we find our foreign balances substantially reduced ; what is worse, they are locked up in a country which is finding itself in considerable difficulties, and whose economic situation is in many respects worse than our own. Our cash balances have also been largely drained away. The tide of post-war inflation is still breaking on our shores. In foreign trade our imports have been outbalancing our exports, with the result that the currencies which matter to us for our industrial effort are in short supply. Inside the country the spiral of prices has been rising. There is a high level of taxation and we have already placed the last but one straw on the proverbial camel's back. Other countries adopted the role of welfare states when they were substantially more advanced in their industrialisation. We have to adopt that role today when we are hardly on our feet as an industrial country. All this has produced a tremendous strain not only on our national exchequer but also on the capacity of industrialists to help themselves.

If we look at the causes which have brought about the present situation, the remedies become obvious. It is quite clear that we cannot go on maintaining such a high level of prices. Prices must, therefore, come down. With our incomes shrinking and the prospect of further shrinkage, unless we stage a quick recovery, we must cut down our

expenditure in order to balance our budget. We must build up our resources in those foreign currencies which we so sorely need for our industrial effort. For this we must cut down those imports which are for our immediate purposes unessential, and in this I shall include food imports, because I am convinced that with honest, co-ordinated and concentrated effort we can make up whatever deficiency in food production there exists today. We must create a sense of confidence both in the investor and in those on whom will fall the great national duty of utilising investments. It is only then that we can successfully implement our efforts to stimulate investments and to ensure that every pie that is saved is utilised in a great national endeavour to stage a recovery from a severe economic *malaise*.

Above all this, however, we must build up our strength not on the basis of temporary palliatives or artificial reductions in prices or stimulation of investment but on surer foundations of increased production and increased wealth of which production is such a great contributory factor. I attach great value to utilising our present industrial capacity to its maximum degree of efficiency.

I do not think that any government has been able to devise a leak-proof system of taxation. I also acknowledge that the profit motive is a great stimulant to exertion and rules human conduct in whatever walk of life it may be, whether it is the capitalist, the middle classes, the labour or the agriculturists with whom we may have to deal. At the same time, transcending everything must be a high sense of civic consciousness and national duty. What would riches avail those who have hoarded wealth if the economic problems of the country remain unsolved and lead to chaos? Nor would it help Government at all to devise measures which do not bring out all these hoards for utilisation in economic undertakings. After all, we have to realise that the longer these hoards are kept where they are the less chance there is of their yielding any return to the owner and the more distant the prospect for the Government to utilise them in stimulating trade and industry. The problem, therefore, is not merely ethical but also economical. Econo-

mics is an intensely practical science and I would urge upon you to look at the practical side of this problem more closely and to evolve remedies whereby we can harness these hidden resources for the purpose of national service. I have always maintained that it is the duty of every citizen who has talent, who has experience and who has ability to give the benefit of these virtues to the nation. I can assure you that if you can put forward constructive suggestions in this regard Government would be only too glad to give their close and earnest consideration to them.

However, as I have already stated, I would not regard temporary palliatives as adequate. They may only succeed in postponing what would, if we do not take action in time, be inevitable. In my judgment the key to our economic situation lies in increased production. The problem of increasing production has to be looked at in two ways. It means a greater utilisation of our industrial capacity at present. It also means that we must not be content with merely utilising what we have, but must explore 'fresh woods and pastures new'. For the expansion of our industrial effort we must obviously have more capital and investments. Increased production would enable us not only to meet the demands of the consumers but also to substantially cut down our imports, thereby saving valuable foreign exchange for other more pressing needs, chief of which would be the import of capital goods which we would require for old or new industrial undertakings. A few industries in which I feel increased production is possible and must be achieved are: steel, cotton textiles, sugar, electrical goods, chemicals, machine tools, paper and cement. The question is largely one of securing sufficient capital and capital goods and the necessary foreign exchange. In laying out our programme, however, our aim must be to survey our resources and to plan them out on the basis of what we can achieve in the near future and to ensure that what we produce goes a long way in reducing our dependence on currencies which we can save in order further to intensify our industrial effort.

The ultimate object of all these efforts must be to attain that industrial efficiency and self-sufficiency by geometrical

progression which would increase general prosperity and thereby secure a higher standard of living for the common man. On the basis of this ultimate objective you can devise a plan for what is, immediately or in the near future, practicable. Government, industrialists and labour could then participate in a great national effort for recovery and reconstruction.

I should now like to say a word to labour. No one realises more keenly than myself what an important and decisive part labour can play in our great industrial effort. I know the difficulties that confront both labour and labour leaders. At the same time, I also realise the gravity of the crisis which faces us today. After all, in our lives, occasions come when we have to put up with difficulties in a spirit of forbearance and fortitude, hoping that as a result of our sacrifices we shall see better days. The foundations of prosperity are often laid on self-denial. Today, when the nation demands sacrifices all round, let labour also make sacrifices and help others to do so ; let it be to labour's credit that it has taken the lead and shown the way. If others do not follow, the nation will know how to deal with them. Let them trust the judgment of the nation and those to whom has fallen the duty of leading the nation through the present crisis.

I can claim longer association with organised labour than probably many labour leaders today. I served my apprenticeship under that great leader of men and that great friend of labour, Mahatma Gandhi. His philosophy of labour's relationship with the employer and his practice of the methods which could bring labour its legitimate reward by peaceful and constitutional means were never more needed in India than today. Let labour put its trust in his philosophy and in his methods which have already paid dividends and which have enabled the labour organisation which grew up under his inspiration to achieve a very substantial measure of success. With faith in these, let labour earnestly take to a full measure of participation in increased production, so that it can have more on which to lay its claim than what can be distributed between itself and the employer today.

Let it first participate in creating wealth before claiming its just share. Let it regard "go-slow tactics" as inimical to its interests and those of the nation. Today, he serves the nation best who produces most and none is a worse enemy of the country than he who retards the process of production.

Finally, let me appeal to you all, labour and industrialists, capitalists and shareholders alike, to grasp fully the nature and extent of the difficulties with which we are faced. The situation is such that we cannot stand any further deterioration. Any resultant uncertainties or confusion are not going to help any one of us ; they will only be exploited by those for whom there is neither the sanctity of life nor of property.

During the past two years we have faced some of the greatest dangers that any nation had to face throughout its history, let alone in its mere beginnings. In spite of those dangers we have achieved a measure of unity and territorial consolidation which we have never realized during the last two thousand years. Let not those achievements flounder on the economic rock ; instead, let us utilise that unity and consolidation to shape our course towards happiness and prosperity on an even keel. I, who have served the nation to the best of my ability in achieving that unity and consolidation, am naturally concerned in jealously guarding it. But in doing so, I must ask for the assistance and co-operation of every citizen in the land, irrespective of caste, class or creed.

BLUEPRINT FOR PROSPERITY

I AM very glad to be broadcasting today, the birthday of my dear brother Jawaharlal. The day is twice blessed ; not only are we celebrating a great national event, but we are also welcoming him back with all our heart after an eventful tour abroad.

Our birthday gift to him is loyalty and devotion ; he has returned it with compound interest by raising our country's status abroad, and by presenting a sum total of goodwill and friendship which he has engendered wherever he has gone during his tour. He returns today again to resume the heavy burden of responsibilities which attach to his high office. Let us offer him our felicitations as well as our prayers.

How heavy that burden is and how great those responsibilities, you must have guessed in some measure from the speech I delivered on Saturday, 11th November, 1949, about our economic situation. I wish once again to emphasise the gravity of the situation that faces us and of the immensity of the task that lies ahead, if we are to stage a quick and permanent recovery. I can tell you quite frankly that the time for preparing paper schemes has gone ; we cannot indulge any longer in the pastime of conjuring before our vision idealistic Utopias. We have to live among the hard facts of today, and it is in that realistic atmosphere that we have to think and act. It is no use our offering to a hungry man a rich fare some time hence. I have been constantly laying stress on the need for self-sufficiency in food and cloth, our basic wants. We have spent crores on our food production drive without making any appreciable difference to our heavy imports, the crushing burden of which is visible in our dwindling foreign currencies and balances.

We have in hand so many schemes of irrigation. We have a huge area of cultivable waste which is waiting for the hands that can plough. Even the areas under cultivation can, with diligence and well-directed efforts, be made to yield more. We have a big reclamation programme which is being financed from the money that we have borrowed from abroad. In addition, we have programmes in India for subsidising schemes of food production. If we can concentrate on all these, I have no doubt that, in spite of the economic situation of today, we can produce enough to feed ourselves and reduce the heavy drain of freight and profits which we obligingly remit to foreign growers and shippers.

Just think of it. If we had at our disposal the amount which we have spent on food imports during the last three

years, we could have completely rehabilitated those unfortunate brothers and sisters of ours who have had to leave their hearths and homes in Pakistan and who are still looking up to us for relief and succour. My heart bleeds to see so many of my unfortunate countrymen living in conditions of filth and poverty. Let those who pass by them reflect for a moment how they themselves are contributing to their misery by failing in their duty to help themselves and help us in ensuring self-sufficiency in food.

We always speak of India's culture, of India's civilisation, but do we ever pause to think that the relief of the poor, mutual aid amongst neighbours, charity to the helpless and kindness to the down-trodden have been the shining virtues of that culture and civilisation? Let us ask ourselves if we are living in the spirit of those ancient virtues. If we are honest, we shall point the finger of scorn at all of us who demand their pound of flesh for every seer of corn that they hand over to Government, or who store up their corn even though they see their next-door neighbour starving. The same applies to those who do not work assiduously to produce more from every inch of their soil, or who not only allow land to go waste but also allow foodgrains to deteriorate.

Are we to take Gandhiji's name only when it suits our purpose? I should like to ask all those who swear by him how they reconcile their professions of faith in his mission with the everyday breach of the principles which he taught.

My appeal to the agriculturists is to work and work hard with a will to get the best out of their exertions and deliver to Government the maximum they can spare on the basis of their minimum requirements. They should help Government to implement the many programmes of increasing food production so that we can restore the balance between supply and demand of foodgrains as quickly as possible. Whatever area can be brought under cultivation must be utilised to produce foodgrains.

My next appeal is to the industrialists, businessmen, traders and labour. I need not stress here the importance which increasing production has in our plans to deal with the present economic crisis. In many ways it is our one and only hope

to correct the maladjustment between supply and demand and thereby reverse the rising spiral of prices. Government, industry and labour must all play the game in a spirit of national service. We must all have the fullest sense of a national emergency ; we must close our ranks as we do in the presence of a common danger ; we must tighten our belts to give the nation the tribute we owe to it ; we must all contribute our mite to the creation of that huge reservoir of funds both here and abroad which we need to back our national effort for a happier and better state of living.

Let industrialists concentrate on getting the maximum out of their plants and machinery ; let labour lend their helping hand to the industrialists to exploit their resources to the maximum national advantage. It will be Government's duty to ensure that the decks are cleared for action and there are no impediments, no bottle-necks and no red tape. The wheels must move with clock-wise precision and perfect smoothness and there must be no mutual fault-finding. The tradesmen have also to do their part. It is their duty to ensure that the produced articles reach the consumer with the minimum of difficulty and minimum of extra cost. None wishes to deprive them of their due but it would be a national crime for anyone to take more than one's due. On the other hand, even if one has to sacrifice something of his due for the sake of delivering the goods to the nation, that must be cheerfully faced. In such an inexorable and unrelenting struggle for existence, mercenary motives must not be allowed to rule to the exclusion of patriotic duty.

Let me also make a special appeal to those who have money to spare. It is, I know, a large body of heterogeneous elements. We are not spendthrifts as a nation ; saving is our national instinct, whether we are agriculturists, labourers, businessmen, lawyers, civil servants or traders. They must all save every pie they can and place their savings at the disposal of Government for utilisation in nation-building enterprises. We had a plethora of development schemes in the hope of large balances being available for expenditure. Now when we took stock of our position, we found that if we were to live within our means, we had drastically to cut

our development programme.

It is obvious that we cannot keep this programme in suspense for very long without doing grave damage to our national economy. These programmes are our only hope if we have to feed not only the present, but the increasing population of our country. They afford the only chance of increased industrialisation, without which it will not be possible for us either to maintain or to improve upon our present standard of living. We must, therefore, restore our economy to a position in which we can implement these programmes to the best of our capacity and in an efficient and business-like manner. For all this, we must have capital, and that capital must come from our own country. We may be able to borrow from international markets here and there, but obviously we cannot base our everyday economy on foreign borrowing.

In my speech on Saturday I have already indicated why and how the investor should place confidence in us. I stated that a point had been reached when nobody who can save or has saved can afford to withhold investing it in a profitable undertaking without incurring the odium of having failed the country in its hour of crisis. Indeed, it would be as wrong for anyone not to invest savings as it would be in times of war for anyone to shirk the obligation of compulsory national service. This brings me to commend to you the scheme, which we have announced, of voluntary cuts in higher salaries and compulsory savings, for Government servants have in this matter given a lead to business and professions which the latter would do well to follow. I am separately making an appeal to Provincial Governments to evolve similar schemes for their own employees. We hope shortly to supplement our own scheme by a similar scheme for Government servants drawing Rs. 250 and below. When that scheme is announced, I am sure Provinces will follow suit.

I would now appeal to business-houses, commercial establishments and men engaged in different professions and other institutions employing any substantial staff to adapt our scheme to the conditions of their own organisation and

to implement it cheerfully and in a spirit of self-sacrifice for the country's needs.

All these contributions would, while assuring to the contributors some saving for future needs, assist Government considerably in strengthening its ways and means position and would enable it to finance the many schemes of development which on account of the necessity for imposing rigid economy have had to be suspended or drastically curtailed. "Spend less, save more, and invest as much as possible" should henceforward be the motto of every citizen in the country and all of you must see that it becomes the guiding principle of your life. You can select for yourself any suitable means of investment which are open to you, but only make sure that all the money that you save is spent for a national cause.

I shall now say a word to those Governments servants to whom has fallen, and will continue to fall, the implementation of the many measures of control and of regimentation of everyday affairs of the citizen which we have to enforce. It is a great responsibility. The powers which they wield, if rightly used, can bring the nation heavy dividends, but the same, if abused, can bring not only harm but disrepute. They have the reputation of many citizens in their hands. They will very often find that a kind word, a sympathetic gesture and an attitude of understanding coupled with honesty and integrity will enable them to do their work much quicker and much better than snobbery, a sense of superiority and such other departures from rectitude of which we find so many reports.

No one has done more to see that the services get their just rights and due meed of credit than myself. If, therefore, I make a call upon them to do their part of national duty, I do so in full realisation of the fact that a large majority of them is actuated by patriotic motives and a spirit of service to the nation. They must, however, understand that the misdeeds of a few of them are as likely to injure the reputation of all as one dirty fish can proverbially spoil the whole tank. If the Legislature and Government place such large powers in their hands, they also place on them responsibility

for using them properly. If they fail to discharge that responsibility, they not only render themselves unworthy of the service to which they belong but also show themselves undeserving of the trust and confidence which the Government, the Legislature and the nation have reposed in them. Let them, therefore, so conduct themselves that every action of theirs brings as much good to the nation as possible without injuring anyone except the evildoer. If they can do so in this spirit, I am sure they will convert antipathy into sympathy, calumny into praise and sullenness into co-operation.

Finally, let me end on a personal note. Jawaharlal and I have been overwhelmed by the generous measure of confidence displayed in us. Having regard to the universality of that confidence, we naturally feel the terrible burden that we have to carry. That burden can be lightened only if we can secure all-round co-operation and support. My appeal to you all is, therefore, to extend to us and to the Government that co-operation and support and to help us in rooting out everything that retards the progress of the nation towards a better and happier state of things.

ON ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE

THIS exhibition was to be opened on January 26, the day we became a sovereign democratic republic. It shows the things manufactured in our country, in the villages and in the towns, handicrafts as well as machine-made products. We have to consider in which of these items we should expand production and which we should use more in the national interest.

Twenty years ago, in 1930, we pledged to work for complete independence. By God's grace we have redeemed

Speech while inaugurating an exhibition at Red Fort, Delhi, January 29 1950

that pledge; we need not go into the many causes due to which we did not have to suffer as much for it as we might well have suffered. But usually we do not value fully those things for which we do not have to suffer much. Gandhiji underwent the biggest suffering for swarajya. There were others, too, who followed in his footsteps and sacrificed a lot. It was no easy task to integrate such a big country, with its many religions and languages, which had never been one country. So many different States had to be integrated and organized in order that the whole country should be free. But we had comparatively little trouble; we have, therefore, not enough appreciation for this. That, however, is not the end of our task.

What has been achieved so far is like a peasant preparing the ground for cultivation. The true swarajya of Gandhiji's dreams has still to be created by us in India. Those who held up our work have left. There is no obstacle now. But millions in our country are suffering today. They need food, clothing and shelter. At least there should be no lack of these things under self-rule. We do not grow as much food as we need. Burma (which was the source of a good deal of rice consumed in Madras and Bengal) and some of the food surplus areas in our country have now separated from us. There is thus a deficit. To ensure that food is available everywhere and no one starves, we have to import foodgrains. Arrangements have to be made to ensure at least subsistence rations everywhere, thus necessitating various controls. These lead to many evils. In such a big country, it is not easy to have rationing and controls. The Government is often brought into disrepute. People take bribes. Much else happens. But it is all our doing. Aliens have no hand in this. People blame the Government. To a certain extent they are right. But it also gives our people a bad name in the world—as people who cannot help each other at such a juncture, who cannot co-operate, cannot share. This is not good for us. It is not Gandhiji's way. If we want true swarajya, we have to follow his way.

This exhibition shows, among other things, how to grow more food, what to do and use for this purpose, what

we are doing in this respect and where. We have to become independent of food imports and mostly grow what we need. It is a difficult task, especially for a country weakened by years of slavery and foreign exploitation. A poor country does not become affluent only by achieving freedom. But if all work unitedly, it can be done.

Gandhiji said our swarajya depended upon the charkha; we could spin our way to swarajya. But we did not do that. The swarajya we have gained is not the real thing. Real swarajya we can have by producing in our country what we need. For this we will have to change our habits. We will have to transform our villages. We have to pledge ourselves not to use imported goods. Of course, if there is anything not produced in our country, but required in the national interest to produce more wealth, like machinery, it will have to be used. But we should, as far as possible, not even touch foreign products. Things made by our poor brothers and sisters in our villages and our towns have to be encouraged. All free countries do this. Their people are taught this from childhood.

Our industrialists and other capable people should try to manufacture the machines we now import and make our economy self-reliant.

Unfortunately, we have a dispute with a neighbour of ours. We have the factories in Calcutta which used to utilise all the jute grown in Pakistan. The Government of India has done its best to see that economies of both the countries are not hampered. But no agreement that we reach is implemented by them. We have to act alone. They refuse to deliver even the jute paid for in advance, thus harming both countries. If they cannot guarantee to implement agreements, we had better not depend on them. Let us grow the jute and the cotton and the foodgrains we need. It is rather hard because we import a lot of foodgrains while they have enough and to spare; they got all the best cultivable and irrigated lands and turned out the occupants who are now refugees here. We have to make arrangements for these people, bear with their anger and their sorrow, while their golden land has been usurped by others. We have asked

loudly and repeatedly for a settlement but Pakistan obstinately refuses to do so. Thus the dispute lingers on. It can be resolved only by frank and broad-hearted fraternal talks. It should be our effort to see that both we and our neighbour should prosper. But as long as our neighbour does not take kindly to our prosperity or delights in our discomfiture, we have to keep our distance from such a neighbour and make all arrangements for our security.

An exhibition of the kind organised here enables us to know what goods our country produces, to select the ones we need and like, and to prefer them to cheaper imported goods. If we will put up with some discomfort in this matter, for a year or three years or five years, our country will grow stronger and we will stand in fear of none. Today we have some kind of peace in the country, and it is united as never before. This is a big thing. But now our task is to keep it united. For this it has to be made strong by the common effort of us all. It cannot be done by depending on the government alone to do it. It has not the necessary resources. It is everyone's duty for the next three or four years to help the government in every way in strengthening the country by avoiding quarrels and controversy and engaging in constructive activities as depicted in this exhibition. The world today is full of conflict and strife. We should endeavour to save our country from getting involved in this. It is a difficult task but it is always exhilarating to work against heavy odds. Only cowards fear adversity.

STABILITY AND PLANNING

WE have now come to realize that it is easy to plan but difficult to plan within our resources. We have to cut our coat according to our cloth.

Address to the Chief Ministers of States, New Delhi, April 26, 1950

When we came to office, I thought the first requirement in the country was external and internal security. You cannot have any plan unless there is security. I started planning for the integration of whatever remained of the country and also tried to secure peace because I found that the world had changed.

We have tall talk of world peace, but there is no country in the world which is not in a disturbed condition. Even the countries which had freedom for centuries and which had never been slaves are in a disturbed condition.

In this country, which won freedom only yesterday and which has a past legacy of so many disturbing elements, it is impossible to make progress unless we first restore order. On top of it came partition which made our task difficult. We were just settling down when came the devaluation. Things are not entirely in our hands even today to plan for the progress of the country because we depend upon so many outside factors which govern us. The planners have to take into account many extraneous circumstances.

My own view which I have not concealed and which I have expressed often to the displeasure of many is that if we had not played false to ourselves and to our country, large imports of food would have been unnecessary.

We have plenty of food in this country. Five or ten per cent of deficit in a huge country like this is not difficult to make up by increased production, by prevention of waste, by putting in maximum efforts to economise and also by applying our hearts unitedly in the matter of giving up food-stuffs where they are surplus.

There are some provinces which are surplus and others are deficit. Whenever a province tries to procure the surplus food from the people, we do not speak with one voice. Some of us put our province first and the rest of the country afterwards. We know that our neighbours are, in spite of their best efforts, not getting enough to eat and yet we feel that if we feed our province the rest does not matter.

We have not felt as a nation, and the governing organization does not speak with one voice. Planning cannot mend this difficulty. The Chief Ministers of States and

Presidents of Congress organizations can, to a certain extent, mend this matter.

Considerable planning is required to make the Presidents and Chief Ministers meet. They are proceeding in contrary directions. In the Congress organization itself, whenever the Government want to push any scheme, another group desires to demolish it.

Planning, however good, will not work till we realize our responsibility and till we feel that it is our obligation to help in the implementation of a scheme that has been planned. It is not the Congress organization alone, but there are other groups whose business it is to destroy everything that we do. Their main function is to find fault with everything we do, however good it may be.

There are some groups who are bent on creating disruption and dislocation and go to the length of creating chaos, committing murders and dacoities, removing rails and tampering with communications.

These are matters of great concern. On that account considerable amount of strain has been placed on the Government. In spite of all that, we have, to a large extent, restored order and this has been appreciated by the people who come from outside.

This is practically the only stable country in the whole of Asia and it is one place where we can stem the tide of aggression and disorder. Many have expressed admiration for the work that has been done but that work would not last unless we have enough food in the country to feed our people.

Machinery will not solve the problem because millions of idle hands who have no work cannot find employment on machines. India's planning must necessarily differ from the planning of highly developed and industrialised countries. India is primarily an agricultural country and in a country as thickly populated as India is, idleness is the greatest disease. Gandhiji's planning was, therefore, of a different kind and it was difficult.

But it is difficult to plan on a non-industrial basis also. We must industrialize our country quickly and efficiently in

certain directions. Otherwise we are doomed in the modern world because a modern army requires many things which only machines can produce, apart from arms and ammunition, uniforms and stores, jeeps and motor cars, aeroplanes and petrol. If industry is not developed in the country, we have to depend on external sources.

If the world succeeds in bringing about conditions in which no country requires an army, then the scheme of self-sufficiency in villages would be the ideal thing to work for. But that is not so. We have to plan both for industry which is immediately necessary and for agriculture which is of primary importance.

Today the most controversial question in the country which has brought the Government into trouble and made it unpopular is controls. This Government has not got the machinery for effective controls in any sphere. It has got barely enough staff to run the administration. We run the administration of the whole country with one-fourth of the service which was in existence when we took over. Fifty per cent of the people whose presence was enough to keep law and order and make lower subordinates work with efficiency, and even overtime, have gone. We have opened so many embassies in other countries where we have to send at least one civil servant. The functions of the Government have been so widened that we have many new departments. We have no statistics and have to begin from scratch.

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TIME FOR CONSOLIDATION

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FIRST THINGS FIRST

OUR first task is to stabilize, consolidate and strengthen ourselves and the rest can have only a secondary priority. My colleagues and I have agreed to the partition of the country not because of fear or out of a sense of defeat. Under the prevailing conditions in the country partition on the present pattern was the best thing possible and I have no qualms about it. In a matter of weeks we have divided the country, the Army, the Services, etc., and this indeed has been a colossal task.

I, however, strongly believe that those who have seceded today will be disillusioned soon and their union with the rest of India is assured. What nature and God had intended to be one can on no account be split in two for all time.

I appeal to you to rub out from your minds the memories of the past two years, deem it as a terrible nightmare and forget it, and to look forward with single-minded purpose to make India strong, prosperous and happy. This can only be done by hard work. A Socialist Government in Britain is calling upon the workers to sweat an hour more a day and the strange contrast here is that our Socialists and others preach strikes and encourage wage-boosts. This can only result in printing more notes at Nasik and end up in serious trouble.

I welcome Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan's latest statement and am happy that the minorities in Pakistan would be protected and their rights safeguarded. Such a generous move by the League cannot but evoke reciprocity here in India.

I am sure that all the Indian States will join the Indian Union and none can afford to keep out and live in isolation. First things should be done first and the first job is to get the States to accede to, and thereby consolidate, the Union. The demand of the people in the States for a democratic regime raises an entirely different issue. I cannot see how

an Indian Ruler can exist with his subjects in hostility and clamouring for popular Government.

The Congress was pledged to rid the country of foreign domination and after making considerable sacrifices and prolonged suffering it has succeeded. But the Congress has also worked for a united India and a union of all the communities and unfortunately it cannot claim any success there. This has been due to factors beyond our control. Our joy on August 15 would have been fuller and greater, had not India been divided; but this is not to be for the present.

I would make no efforts to explain away the responsibility of the Congress for dividing the country. We took these extreme steps after great deliberation. In spite of my previous strong opposition to partition, I agreed to it because I felt convinced that in order to keep India united it must be divided now.

My experience in office during the past year showed that it was impossible to do anything constructive with the Muslim League in. The League representatives during their continuance in office did nothing but create deadlocks and their role was entirely an obstructionist one. Besides, as I have already once said, I found that the Muslims (save for a few exceptions) engaged in all capacities in the Government were with the Muslim League. Thus the rot had set in and it could not be permitted to continue any longer except at the risk of a disaster for the whole country. Indeed at one stage—and it obtains even now to some degree—things had become so bad that, with the killing at Calcutta, riots spread all over and it became a perilous adventures for Hindus and Muslims to visit one another's localities. The economic life of the country was paralysed and there was little security of life or property.

The only way out of the sickening situation, the Congress realized, lay in the elimination of the third party, the British power. The British, on their part, declared that they would quit by June 1948. But the period was long. Also their statement promising to hand over power to the authorities in the provinces gave rise to a vigorous effort to

dislodge the Ministries in Assam, the Punjab and the Frontier. The League succeeded in the Punjab. Even though they failed in the Frontier and Assam, the League movement caused great misery and bloodshed.

In order to settle the issue immediately and prevent the slaughter of innocent people, the Congress decided to agree to the division of the country and demanded the partition of the Punjab and Bengal. This was no surrender to the League threats or policy of appeasement.

Today the partition of India is a settled fact and yet it is an unreal fact. The partition, I hope, however, removes the poison from the body politic of India. This, I am sure, would result in the seceding areas desiring to reunite with the rest of India.

India is one and indivisible. One cannot divide the sea or split the running waters of a river. The Muslims have their roots in India. Their sacred places and their cultural centres are located here in India. I do not know what they can do in Pakistan and it will not be long before they begin to return.

Most of the opposition to the Congress in this partition came from quarters which had never in the past given evidence of any strength. Despite the division, it must be remembered, we have eighty per cent of the country with us which is a compact unit with great possibilities. Twenty per cent has gone over to Pakistan and I wish that state all success and prosperity.

I wish them to be strong because then alone there can be friendly relations and amity between the two states. There can be no friendship between a strong unit and a weakling. India harbours no ill-will towards Pakistan and will, in fact, do all in her power to help the new state.

The main task before India today is to consolidate herself into a well-knit and united power. The obstacle of foreign domination is now gone but there are serious problems that confront us. Economically India is in a sad plight. The war has resulted in making India a creditor nation but that does not mean much. The United Kingdom is our debtor and owes us a huge amount but she does not

appear to have anything to pay us now. In fact the Big Powers have so arranged their economies that smaller and poorer countries remain at a disadvantage.

The Socialists in India are always talking of a Socialist Republic. Instead of restricting their activities to mere agitation, I would ask them to take over the administration of one province and solve the problems which have arisen in the wake of a prolonged war.

In contrast to their counterparts in Great Britain, the Indian Socialists are pursuing an opposite course. Strikes are encouraged and higher wages demanded. If there is no water in the well, none can draw any to drink. By all means let them take away the wealth of a few rich in the country, but to what extent would this afford any relief to the poor—the teeming millions?

The need of the hour is to increase the wealth of the country and this can be done only by putting in more and more work and thus increasing production. This requires the maintenance of peace in the country. For one year now there has been disorder in the country. Now that Pakistan has been established, there is no quarrel between Hindus and Muslims. If, unfortunately, there should be a recurrence of this strife, it would not be the cowardly killings of innocent people but a battle between two armies of the two states.

I appeal to the people not to indulge in mutual strife but to create a calm atmosphere and engage themselves in constructive activities which are essential for the building up of a new India.

As regards the States question, the co-operation of all the Rulers is necessary to consolidate and strengthen the Indian Union. When the foreign power has been eliminated, the Princes will have to adjust themselves to the new democratic order. The days of those Rulers who do not command the confidence of their subjects are numbered. The majority of the States have acceded to the Union and I appeal to the rest to join the Union before August 15. States which do not come in now but may decide to join at a later date would have to accede on different terms. These days no

State can afford to live in isolation.

I ask the people to exercise reserve in judging the role of the Princes at the present juncture. The Rulers have not been free up till now and many of them do not even now believe that Paramountcy is lapsing on August 15. Many of them being descendants of great and benevolent Rulers of the past ages, I have no doubt that they would not hesitate in pursuing a correct policy and becoming popular Rulers.

Our problems are, mainly domestic. Ever since I was released from prison, I have been saying that imperialism is on its last legs, not only in India but in all Asia. The British are quitting India and I think that Dutch imperialism will meet its end in Indonesia.

There cannot be in the future any more separate electorates or weightages and special treatment. Every community must get what is its due, but if a community which forms fifteen per cent of the population has sixty per cent representation, say, in the Police Department, it undoubtedly creates a problem.

As regards the agitation for cow protection, I agree with the demand, but I ask why no such agitation was sponsored in the past. In countries where cows enjoy no legal protection, they are looked after much better and yield more milk. But at a time when the Government are faced with the problem of protecting human beings, the question of protecting cows cannot have priority. I deprecate attempts which are supposed to unite the country but in fact divide the Hindus. Nobody today, except the Congress, can undertake the task of uniting the country.

India has nothing but goodwill towards all, but if her safety is endangered she must have the strength to defend herself, and for this people must work.

REAL SWARAJ YET TO BE ACHIEVED

You must realize the need to carry on with vigour constructive work such as removal of untouchability, fostering communal unity, khadi and prohibition.

I congratulate the workers of Orissa for maintaining communal amity. Selfless and disinterested work is needed for the uplift of the province and the country in general.

Independence has been won but this independence is only in relation to foreign domination. Real Swaraj is yet to be achieved, Swaraj which will usher in complete success in constructive spheres

In my talks with the Rulers I have argued with them in an attempt to make them see unmistakably which way their good lies. Smaller States have shown the way and set an example for their bigger brothers. Many of the major States are still hesitant, but I have no doubt that they will see wisdom soon. The times have changed and these are the days of democracy. The Rulers must move with the times.

I appeal to the people of Orissa to continue to maintain peace which they have admirably done so far. I deplore the recent events in Calcutta. They are a discredit not only to the Congress but to the country as a whole. The Ministry there is a popular Ministry chosen by the people. Any attempt at Satyagraha against the Ministry is tantamount to *Duragraha*

The people of Orissa have a bright future and a great opportunity for plenty of constructive work. The tasks that lie ahead of them include vast programmes of development consisting of the construction of a new capital and the Mahanadi project. In both these endeavours the resources of the Central Government will be at the disposal of the people of Orissa.

To the students I say, "The battle of freedom in which we wanted your help has been won. You should now devote yourselves to the completion of your own education. If you still have some leisure, you should devote it to the cause of adult education and spread light among the illiterate masses.

Speech at a meeting, Cuttack, December 15, 1947

You can also work for village uplift. Now that the reins of the Government are in the hands of your own people, you need not worry about politics."

NO TIME FOR GRIEVING

I DESIRED to see for myself after 22 years the progress which Assam had made during this period. More particularly, I wanted to see how Assam had been affected by recent events including the separation of a part of Sylhet. India has had to shoulder a great burden. This has involved suffering and privation. It has also filled all of us with deep sorrow. During the struggle for freedom, although we had borne tremendous suffering we had never flinched or grieved because the very struggle contained zest and keenness which conquered half-heartedness and sorrow. We thus won freedom, but if we had not suddenly turned mad we would have started reaping its fruit and enhancing our prestige and reputation in the eyes of the world. Instead of appreciating the value of what we had achieved, we behaved worse than animals. It was in no light-hearted manner that we agreed to partition. This price was necessary to gain freedom and to live in freedom. However, there is no time now for grieving over what has happened. We must now forget what we have suffered. We must remember that we have still our brethren across the frontier whom we have to evacuate and settle in this country. We hope Pakistan will not give us any trouble; instead it will assist us in that task so that we may accomplish it peacefully and successfully in order that each of us may settle down to the vital task of reconstruction which awaits us. Thereafter there would be no bone of contention left.

In this connection, I appreciate that Kashmir and Hyderabad are still the two problems which remain outstanding. Though contrary to what Pakistan contends, Junagadh has ceased to be a problem. Of these two States,

Hyderabad, I am certain, would itself realise the path of wisdom and sanity. But if it did not, the problem would not remain confined to Hyderabad alone, but would have wide repercussions. There are four and a half crores of Muslims in the rest of India who are bound to be affected if Hyderabad releases what will in effect be a cloud of poisoned air. As regards Kashmir, I am definite that the problem will settle itself sooner than many expect, but if it persists, while it may damage India to some extent, it will finish Pakistan..... India will always wish Pakistan well. All the problems incidental to partition have been amicably settled. Surely, that is not like enemies but like mutual well-wishers. If only the problem of evacuation and exchange of population had been settled successfully and satisfactorily, relations between India and Pakistan would have been much better. . . .

Words cannot describe the horror of sufferings which the Punjabis have experienced. The rehabilitation of refugees is a very difficult task, and in that task I invite the co-operation of every citizen of every province. There is no room here for provincial parochialism or for inter-provincial jealousies. If such tendencies develop, it would mean the ruin of India. Instead there must be rivalries in advancement and prosperity. I, therefore, thank the people of Shillong for the purse of Rs. 10,000 which has been presented for the relief of the refugees. What matters so much is not the contribution but the spirit behind it.

I recall how only six months ago there was a general talk of a 'Raja-sthan' which, if it had materialised, would have meant that the whole body politic of India would have been covered with ulcers. Instead we have achieved integration and unity which have promised immense potentialities for glory and greatness. It is now for all of you either to mend or mar your future. If you want to secure your future, you could do so only by unity in which lies strength. I am happy that the people of Assam have forgotten and forgiven the efforts which the Muslim population made for the achievement of Pakistan. I hope that this good turn will be taken up and you will achieve unity. This obviously means that if there is a struggle with Pakistan, Muslims in India must stand by their country.

They must tell Pakistan, "You have got what you wanted. For heaven's sake let us now live in peace."

I have a special word for the young men whom I see around me. I know that many of you wished to sponsor socialism but you must realise that unity should come first. It is no use merely crying "We are socialists". You cannot comprehend socialism by reading text-books or listening to learned speeches. You must first understand what it means in practice and how the ground has to be prepared for it. You must realize how long England took to become socialistic, and America does not even talk of it now. They say I am a friend of the Rulers and the capitalists; but I am a friend of the Harijans, the poor and the tribals. I am also a friend of the socialists. Unlike many who indulge in the parrot cry of socialism, I have no property of my own. Before you talk of socialism, you must ask yourselves how much wealth you have created by your own labour. If you have created nothing, the parrot would have flown and the cage would be empty. By experience, I am convinced that what is necessary is for us to learn how to produce wealth and then to produce and thereafter to think what to do with it. What the province wants most is not this parrot cry of socialism but unity and strength. Yours is a land for gods to live in. Its air, its natural scenery, its pure atmosphere, its sweet water, would attract even gods if your hearts were pure. But the population was lazy and it did not know how to make the best of resources. You must first, therefore, get rid of your enemy, which is laziness. There is so much to be done. If you produce your own cloth, your own food and abstain from drinks, you can change the entire rural atmosphere. You have then to harness your rivers. You have established a High Court and a University. You must concentrate on this useful and constructive work and not lose yourselves in theoretical disputes about socialism. Some people feel that they can settle all problems by wielding the big stick and by reciting *ad nauseam* the elementary ideas about socialism. They forget that it is not coercion or hatred but affection and regard which would prove most effective. That is the divine way of doing things. You have also to look after the

border of which you are the gate-keepers. It is a big responsibility for it involves dealing with the enemies and welcoming friends. The natural scenery is an asset to your province. There may not be the loftiness of the buildings in Calcutta. There may not be the wealth of the cities but they have beauty and naturalness. Although I am going to Calcutta, a bigger place, and would stay in a bigger Government House, I would miss the simplicity and natural life that I have come across in Shillong. I am sure I shall not see anything like it.

I ask you to make full use of your Prime Minister, a self-sacrificing man of ability and truly competent; and your Governor who has been specially selected for you, and who is working for you. His experience of men and affairs is unrivalled.

I wish you to create in Assam a model for the rest of India. I hope that during the coming few years, I shall see something of what you accomplish to this end. In your achievements I shall find the noblest gesture that could ever be the luck of any individual to receive.

GOOD OUT OF EVIL

You all know how immediately after attaining independence India was overtaken by serious difficulties which taxed the energies of Government and people alike. We all wanted independence and we have secured it. Our life's mission has been fulfilled. I have no doubt Asia will follow suit. Burma is gaining its independence tomorrow. But the overall question remains whether we realize that we have won independence and whether we appreciate the full significance of the event. This again raises the issues: how we should utilise the freedom which we have won after such heroic struggle and how we should prepare for the enjoyment of its fruits. It is in this connection that I want to place a few thoughts before you, for seldom do such

occasions arise when we can open out our hearts to you.

I sympathise deeply with the people of Bengal in the afflictions which the separation of East and West Bengal has brought about. We have all been deeply affected by it, but it is profitless now to go into the question as to why we accepted it. Our main task is and should be to extract good out of evil.

There is no reason why, despite partition, there should be a wall of hostility between East and West Bengal. You have one language, a common culture, common traditions and a common way of life. All these inevitably draw people together. I cannot therefore understand why there should be any ill-will. The same, in a wider sphere, applies to Pakistan and India.

Nevertheless, I cannot disguise the fact that the situation is full of dangerous possibilities. But danger does not indicate panic. Instead it calls forth alertness to ensure that nothing is done to incur blame or reproof. India, as it has been left after partition, is not a small country. A population of 30 crores provides an immense field for constructive work.

Even though we were overwhelmed by disturbances after the Independence Day, we have accomplished a great deal. We have carried out successfully and effectively separation of armed services, stores, both civil and military, and of many other large undertakings incidental to partition.

We have settled all this out of court. In addition, we have carried out an exchange of 40 to 50 lakhs of people on each side. Any Government in the world would have been overwhelmed by such tremendous responsibilities, but thank God we have weathered the storm and turned the corner.

This, however, emphasizes the necessity of clearing our decks for further action and purifying the atmosphere so that the task of reconstruction and rehabilitation can be carried out in a peaceful atmosphere.

If you reflect on the condition of India today, you will realize how critical the position is. India is short of food and has to pay a heavy price for imports to make up the deficiency. If we want to keep our freedom, we have to have

a strong army which involves considerable equipment for the three services, Army, Navy and Air Force. If we do not do it, or cannot do it, independence cannot be long sustained.

This involves a strong industrial support without which our armed forces cannot accomplish much, but the fact remains that despite the spurt and impetus given by the war, India is still backward in industrial development. Financially, India has turned from a debtor to a creditor country, but unfortunately that credit cannot be utilized, and, on the whole, the position is worse than before.

For an all-out industrial effort which is necessary to promote India's industries, support from labour is indisputably necessary. But labour has fallen into evil ways. Its organisers know only one thing and believe only in one method, that is to prop up their leadership by strikes.

They do not seem to realize that if they killed industries, labour itself would cease to exist. This does not mean, however, that labour should not get its reward. What labour is entitled to must be settled and settled satisfactorily and peacefully. But for that the correct method is not stoppage of work, nor sabotage, but arbitration. It is only then that Government can see to it that labour gets its just reward. If the leaders of labour continue to follow their present methods, nothing but disaster awaits the country. Let them look around for guidance. Other countries have advanced industrially. In America there is no labour problem. In England there is a Socialist Government but it does not have to use force or resort to firing. Labour responds to its call patriotically.

It is in this context that we must look into the recent incident in which some people attempted to force the hands of the Government of West Bengal in regard to the Public Safety Bill. If they felt that the Government was not doing the right thing, they should have represented to the Working Committee or could have appealed to the people's vote, but instead they resorted to coercion, and coercion of the worst type.

It is not the democratic way but the goondas' way of

doing things, and it is deplorable that in the city of Calcutta such a thing should have been perpetrated.

In another small State worse things have happened. When we secured the merger of Kharswan State as an interim measure, we decided to give its administration to the province of Orissa. An agitation grew up that it should merge into Bihar. We made it plain that we would look into this question impartially and come to a final decision. In the meantime, let Orissa administer it. What was the result? An agitation was organised and innocent people were misled into taking the law into their own hands. The result was that the police had to open fire and some lives were lost. Everybody must regard it as a bad thing, but it is worthwhile reflecting as to why it happened.

It was merely because we have forgotten so quickly what we strove to imbibe during so many years of struggle, so much so that in two provinces where our own Governments are functioning, a small dispute as to which province this small State should go to, gave rise to such unfortunate occurrences.

This is not the way we should function. Those who are not satisfied with the way things are going on have got the opportunity to remove the Ministry and to take over the reins of office.

Whatever else may be said against the present Ministry in Bengal, there is at least one thing about which there is no dispute, that after many years Bengal has secured a band of workers whose honesty and incorruptibility are not in question. I have no doubt they will learn by experience, but if any of you feel that you are better equipped, I have already told you how to secure the removal of the Ministry. But goondalism cannot and will not be allowed to prevail. I sincerely tell you that we cannot afford it when we have such delicate tasks to fulfil.

The country is saved from fragmentation by the accession of States. Otherwise, a 'Raja-sthan' would have been something worse than Pakistan. There is all round scarcity of consumer goods. The moral is plain. You should have patience so that these stupendous responsibilities could be

satisfactorily discharged by the Central and Provincial Governments.

You have been slaves for 200 years. Now that your own men are in office, why can't you have patience for a few years? Instead, we have the sickening spectacle of a so-called token one-day strike by Labour in Bombay after their representatives had subscribed to three years of non-strike truce. And what for was the strike organized? Admittedly to show that leadership of Labour is with the organizers. This is sheer nonsense. Holidays with pay are always welcome to anyone. A strike of this kind, which does not involve loss of wages, cannot, therefore, show with whom the leadership lies. Calcutta has had a taste of a general strike once. I hope you have not forgotten its lesson and in all humility I ask you to avoid its repetition.

I have been blamed that I am a friend of Rajas, capitalists and zamindars, but I claim to be a friend of Labour and the poor as well. Since I have followed Gandhiji, I have resolved not to own any property and I have none. But like Gandhiji I want to make the capitalists also understand which way their true duty lies. I cannot succumb to the prevalent fashion to pose as leader or to attempt to gain leadership by abusing Princes, capitalists, etc., without rhyme or reason.

Many said some time ago that by bringing in Princes I had harmed the cause of the people, but they were not prepared for the merger of 40 States into a neighbouring province in two days; nor did they seem to realize the elementary fact that if Princes wish to exist, they cannot do so without the people.

Then these gentlemen say we want to establish a Mazdoor Raj. There can be no quarrel about it. In the United Kingdom, they too have a Labour Government in office, but it has not assumed office by following the path of strikes. They realize that strikes ultimately harm the interests of the people and of Labour itself. If labour does not see in which direction its interest lies, nothing but harm will come to this country, and Labour itself would cease to exist.

If they want to carry on Government, there are only two ways of doing that. One is the path laid down by Mahatma Gandhi. That is the establishment of Ram Raj in which there is complete peace and freedom from crime and coercion of any kind.

All of you can try to achieve it, but there is no doubt that you cannot get it overnight. The alternative to this method is a firm Government, backed by a strong army, strong navy, strong air force and strong police, but ultimately governed by the will of the people.

Under such a system, the Government in office is entitled to the support of the people unless it follows a wrong path. Prafulla Babu is a servant of the people. They can place before him all their grievances, for he is not inaccessible like foreigners. Bengal should be proud of its Ministry, its police and its public services. It should teach them how to be good public servants. Similarly the Ministry cannot act in an irresponsible manner. The Public Safety Bill is being attacked because it is taken to be an encroachment on civil liberties of the people, but they forget that the Bill is to be enforced by popular representatives. If our own men utilize the provisions of the Bill to harass their political opponents, they cannot remain in office for a day. If, therefore, anybody wants to attack Government on this plank, he is making a great mistake.

They also say that the new Ministry is behaving like its predecessors. Even if they did so, where was the objection? After all, they are responsible and responsive men. They cannot harm anyone without paying the penalty for it.

It is in these circumstances that the Ministry has thought fit, placing before it the interest of the province, to ask for special powers and they are entitled to get them. Democracy has just been born. Let it stand firmly on its feet before taking it to task for its working.

Calcutta is the largest city of India. Formerly it commanded the leadership of this country. It should do so even now. But it is not the old Calcutta which held aloft the torch of leadership in the olden days. Nevertheless, there is one thing of which Calcutta can be proud. It has escaped

the storm which affected other parts of India after partition. For if Calcutta had also given itself up to bestiality, the whole country would have been in flames. The spark which was lit on the 16th August, 1946, when Calcutta had the taste of a general strike and direct action, has not yet died down.

We are not out of the wood. We have to take out Hindus and Sikhs from Sind, for, despite all assurances of protection, they cannot remain there for a day. Those assurances are empty words. Everybody knows that from a peon right up to the Governor, there is not a Hindu or Sikh in the Services.

Authorities in Pakistan wish to compel people to stay. The present situation is thus fraught with difficulties. Only this morning I saw a long statement of Mr. Mohammed Zafrullah Khan in which he had brought in Junagadh along with Kashmir, but there is no parallel. In regard to Kashmir we say it is better to have an open fight than to have disguised warfare such as has been going on. It is for this reason that we have gone to the U.N.O. to have the issue finally settled.

But in Junagadh things have settled themselves without a fight. The Dewan had asked for our intervention and the Nawab fled. The 'Provisional Government' started from the Junagadh territory itself and did not get any support either from the Indian Dominion or from its population. There is, therefore, nothing common between Junagadh and Kashmir. But even then we have made it plain that a plebiscite should be the deciding factor in the Kashmir situation.

But how can any plebiscite be held when fighting is going on? If we have ultimately to save Kashmir by the sword, where is the scope for plebiscite? I should like to make one thing clear, that we shall not surrender an inch of Kashmir territory to anybody.

As regards the controversy of a secular *versus* Hindu State, there can be no serious talk of a Hindu State. But one fact is indisputable. There are $4\frac{1}{2}$ crores of Muslims in India many of whom helped the creation of Pakistan. How can one believe that they will change overnight?

The Muslims say that they are loyal citizens and therefore why should anybody doubt their *bona fides*? To them, I would say: "Why do you ask us? Search your own conscience."

India only wishes to be left alone. I would tell Pakistan, "You have now got Pakistan. I wish you joy of it. It is only when your teeth are soured that you need come back to us. You want to make Pakistan a heaven on earth. We ourselves welcome it, for after all we shall also benefit from it."

But the Pakistan authorities say that their enemies are conspiring to destroy Pakistan. I would say to them that the enemies of Pakistan are not outside Pakistan but inside. We treated Pakistan generously in the manner of division of assets, but at the same time we could not obviously tolerate even a pie to be used for making bullets to shoot at us. The settlement is like a consent decree. The decree will be executed when the outstanding points are satisfactorily settled. This they represent as repudiation. If we wish to repudiate it, why should we have come to any settlement at all?

I would, therefore, earnestly plead that Pakistan authorities should reflect on the course which they have adopted. I can assure them that we have nothing but their good at heart and we want nothing more than to be left in peace. Let them, therefore, create conditions in which both the Governments can settle down to their responsibilities and to the tasks of amelioration which demand urgent attention.

The need of the hour, it is commonly agreed, is that India must produce more in order to exist as an independent country. India also has an opportunity of assuming the leadership of Asia, but this opportunity will be missed if we cannot set our own economy in order and advance our industries to such an extent as to be able to meet the requirements of deficit countries in Asia.

But when we ask them to produce more, people are advised to go slow. This is not serving India's interests at all. Instead, it is the surest way of losing the freedom which we have secured after so much sacrifice of blood and toil.

Let us not act like the monkey who failed to appreciate

the worth of a jewel. We old men have fulfilled our life's mission but young men have now to shoulder the burden. If they fail, India will perish and along with it Labour will also go the way of ruin.

I thank you all for the warmth of the reception you have accorded me. I recognize this as symbolic of the loyalty which the Congress still commands. Despite the shock which partition has given to Bengal, you all have stood firm in your support to the Congress. I would assure you that we all have suffered a blow along with you, but it is no use eating the fruit when it is still unripe. We shall not ask Pakistan to come back to us until it has realized its error. You should think of the future and the past will take care of itself.

I can tell you that if we had not accepted partition, India would have broken into bits. Now that we have been able to salvage a major part of India and have been able to build it up into an extensive single unit, let us make it powerful. If we become prosperous and powerful, I have no doubt that small bits of territory round India would themselves seek our shelter.

If young men behave with discipline and if we unite our ranks, we shall certainly achieve that destiny. The world is looking at us to see how we avail ourselves of our hard-won freedom. Let us not do anything which would make us hang our heads in shame. Instead, let us act in a manner which would not only rehabilitate the prestige and reputation which we have lost by the recent unfortunate events, but also enhance it, and carve out for India a glorious place in the comity of nations.

MISSION FULFILLED

OUR life's mission has been fulfilled. We took the responsibility of running the administration of the country on our old shoulders as we desired to hand over the country to

From a speech at a public meeting, Bombay, January 18, 1948

the younger generation as a running concern.

We expect the youth of the country to come forward and share our responsibility and lighten our burden.

It, however, pains me to find that the younger generation as represented by socialists and others are frittering away their energies in destructive activities such as organising strikes, thus hampering the work of reconstruction.

If the youth continues to behave in this irresponsible manner, I for one would not hesitate to lay down the reins of office. . . .

The Rulers of small States of Kathiawar have decided to form a Union of the States of Saurashtra. The representatives of these Rulers will meet me on Monday morning to discuss the details of the Union.

It is a great relief that Gandhiji has broken his fast. I shall not, however, stop at this. I want you to go deep into the causes that brought about the fast, and eradicate them once for all. It pains me to find that free India is not treading on the right path. What happened in the country during the last five months has hurt the noble soul of the Mahatma. I appeal to you to create a peaceful and harmonious atmosphere in the country because it is a prerequisite of all progress.

I strongly repudiate the charge that Congress Ministries are following the same high-handed and antiquated methods used by the old British bureaucracy and that Congressmen have become capitalists. The division of the country has created several new problems which have immensely taxed our brains during the last five months. We need a powerful army for defence. We cannot rely on foreign countries for imports. Everything we have to manufacture in our own country. The transfer of population following partition has created great complications and added to our difficulties. We have to provide food, clothing and shelter for lakhs of refugees and rehabilitate them. . . .

We have always taken the Socialists into our confidence. We consulted them on the partition of the country, but they could not put forward their view-point. When we consulted them on the issue of decontrol, they emphatically demanded

the immediate withdrawal of all controls. But as soon as the rationing of foodgrains was done away with, they passed a resolution expressing the view that the Government had bungled. The Socialist leaders had participated in the discussions regarding the three-year industrial truce at New Delhi between the representatives of Government, capitalists and labour, but the same was opposed by a Socialist resolution in Bombay. This attitude is simply inexplicable.

I tell the Socialists that the right leadership is that which compels the workers to follow a course of action which is in their interest, no matter whether they like it or not.

In this connection I may refer to the proposed rally of all Bombay workers on January 25 next, as sponsored by Mr. Asoka Mehta. No useful purpose will be served by such misguided enthusiasm. Tons of foodgrains lay rotting in Bombay harbour on account of strike by the Port Trust Workers. The labour leaders who were responsible for this strike ought to have remembered that the Port Trust was under the control of the Central Government and that no capitalist interest was involved in it. It is a mistake to abuse the capitalists for this strike and to connect it with private enterprise.

I advise the citizens of Bombay to refuse any support to such uncalled-for strikes which corrode the body politic.

BUILD A STRONG INDIA

You want me to talk to you in English. I shall obey your command ; but take it from me that it will not be long before you yourselves will have to speak in our national language. If you do not do that, you will drag the country backward. We have to exert our maximum effort to go forward. Unless you do that, I am afraid, you will suffer.

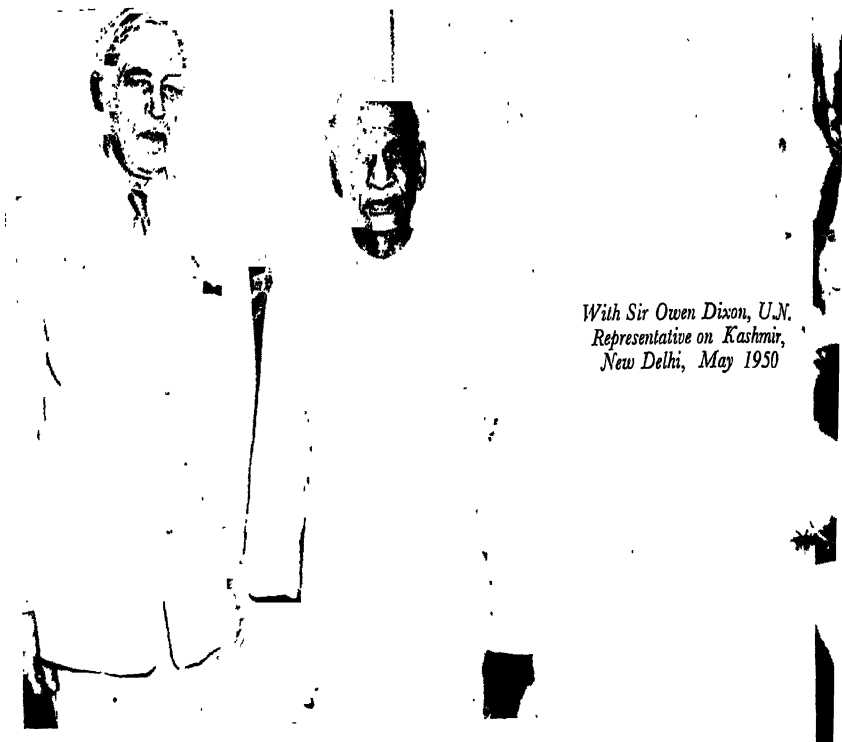
After a prolonged struggle the country has secured freedom, but it is not freedom of the kind that we wanted.



Being felicitated by the citizens of Delhi on his 75th birthday, October 31, 1949

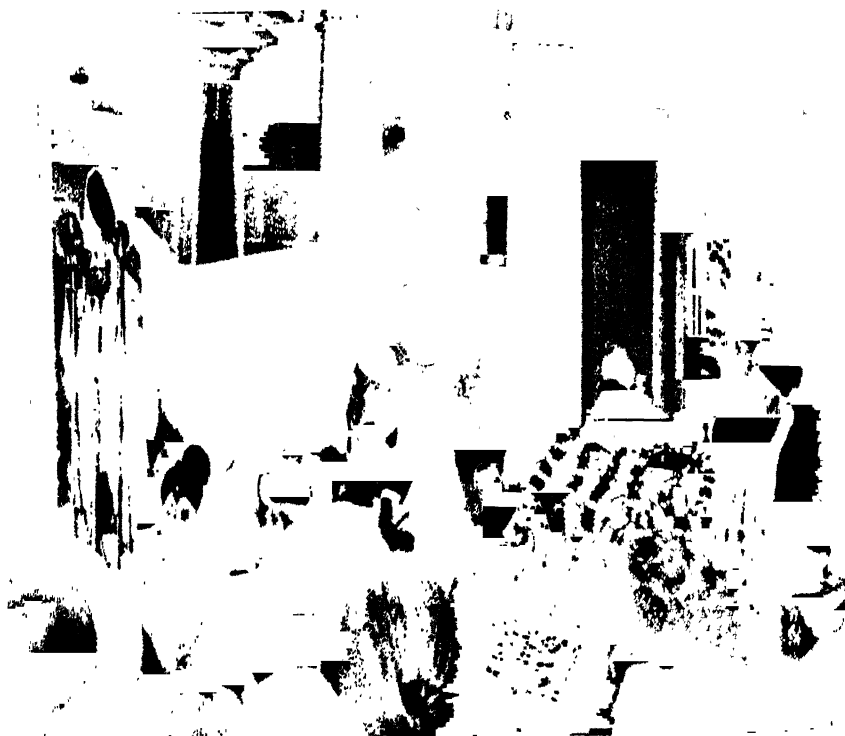
*Replying to an address by leading associations and societies, Ahmedabad,
January 1948*

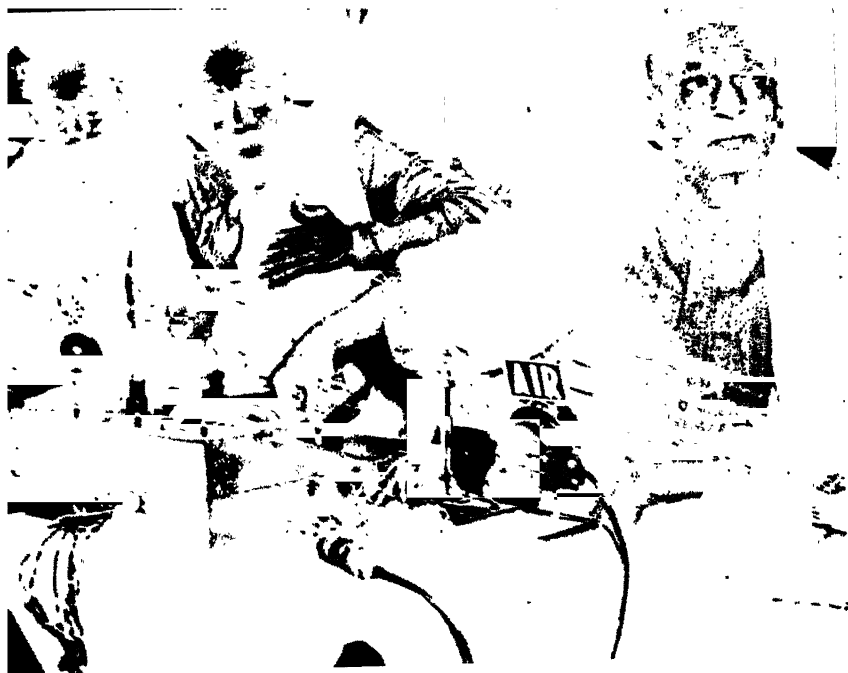




*With Sir Owen Dixon, U.N.
Representative on Kashmir,
New Delhi, May 1950*

Addressing a gathering of Sikhs, New Delhi, February 1948





*Pressing the switch to launch 'Jalaprabha' at the Hindustan Shipyard, Visakhapatnam,
November 1948*



*On board the
I.N.S. 'Delhi'
May 1950*



Talking to Indian Air Force officers, Jammu, December 1947

Inspecting the C.P. Home Guards, Nagpur, December 1947



It is not freedom of the kind that the deliverer of the country expected, and to our shame we have to confess that by our folly we have lost him. Now after his going we must do penance and try our best to deserve the freedom that he obtained for us.

Free India is only a child of a year and a half. It has yet to learn to walk ; it has to grow, to be strong, and its future depends upon how we build today. Therefore, we have to nurse it carefully ; we have to feed, clothe and strengthen it properly.. It is our great good fortune that we have here a rare opportunity to build our own country in our own fashion. History will record what we are doing today.

The first requisite for building a strong, free India is unity and peace. If there is no unity in the country, it is bound to go down. Therefore we must first of all adjust our differences and behave in such a manner that there is complete harmony and peace in the country. You cannot expect the government continuously to maintain peace by force. It would be an evil day when in this country the Government has to use repressive measures permanently. Today we are passing through a period of crisis and our young men have, in their impatience, not realised that the freedom which has been obtained with great difficulty is likely to be lost or likely to give no benefit, no advantage, if we do not appreciate that our present duty is to unite and consolidate our freedom.

We lost our leader because we forgot the very first lesson. If we do not realise even after his going that in unity lies our strength, then greater misfortune will befall us.

For unity, we must forget differences of caste and creed and remember that we are all Indians, and all equal. There can be no distinction between man and man in a free country. All must have equal opportunities, equal rights and equal responsibilities. This is difficult of achievement in practice, but we must continuously strive towards that end.

There is one other thing that we have to do to maintain peace and order in this country. For a few years at least, till we are able to stand on our own legs, we must forget that

we can every now and then threaten the government. We cannot function if the Government is to be challenged day after day by groups of people who want to have their own way. What they want may be, according to their own honest thinking, very good ; but Gandhiji has put before us the ideal of obtaining what we want by peaceful methods and through truth and non-violence. If people begin to threaten and challenge Government's authority and try to overthrow it to gain their objectives by force, the latter would not be able to do anything constructive. Forces are existing in this country which would create chaos and disorder, which would weaken the country instead of strengthening it.

We in the government have been dealing with the R.S.S. movement. They want that Hindu Rajya or Hindu culture should be imposed by force. No government can tolerate this. There are almost as many Muslims in this country as in the part that has been partitioned away. We are not going to drive them away. It would be an evil day if we started that game, in spite of partition and whatever happens. We must understand that they are going to stay here and it is our obligation and our responsibility to make them feel that this is their country. It is, of course, their responsibility, on the other hand, to discharge their duties as citizens of this country.

We must all understand that partition is behind us. It has to come to stay. I honestly believe that it is good for both the new nations to be rid of a perpetual source of trouble and quarrels. In two hundred years of slavery, the administration created a situation in which we began to drift away from each other. It is good that we have agreed to partition in spite of all its evils ; I have never repented my agreeing to partition. From the experience of one year of joint administration when we had not agreed to partition, I know we would have erred grievously and repented if we had not agreed. It would have resulted in a partition not into two countries but into several bits. Therefore, whatever some people may say, I am convinced and I remain convinced that our having agreed to partition has been for the good of the country.

After partition, we had a huge problem ; those who partitioned the country with our concurrence had mental reservations ; they thought that partition into two is not the last word and they started their game immediately after partition. They went to Junagadh in the midst of the Kathiawar States, where nearly half the number of princely states are located. From the middle of that group, they took Junagadh and secured its accession to Pakistan. It was the first danger sign, the signal for dividing India again. Fortunately for us, we woke up in time and those who tried that game saw that we are not sleeping. Simultaneously, there was trouble in Kashmir. Although there were many difficulties, the Government of India, despite all the impediments, got the situation under control rapidly. I should say we enhanced our reputation by sending there our army, which, in spite of its complete Indianisation, has proved its mettle and proved its worth. It is a great thing that immediately after the partition of the army and the partition of the country, our army, manned absolutely by our own people, showed by their strategy, their valour and their organising ability that it can stand comparison with any army in the world. It is a great gain.

Then our neighbour gave us long sleepless nights. Often, people were angry with us and thought we were neglecting the South. They hardly knew our difficulties and our plans. These plans cannot be revealed. What would happen if Hyderabad was invaded from the outside or if Hyderabad attacked us. We had to make preparations all over India. You know now by the results that we have kept our promise to perform the operation in such a manner that there is the least possible bleeding. This is what we have to show for the first year of our freedom.

People are impatient ; they want more wages for labour. Do they think we want to starve labour? Are we foreigners? Some people say we are capitalist agents. One thing I learnt from Mahatma Gandhi is that a public man should not have any property and I can challenge any Socialist or any Communist to play this game with me. But my quarrel is with those who, contrary to the second part of Mahatmaji's advice

to us, want to use violence. There should be no terrorism amongst ourselves. So long as people were playing that game when we were under a foreign power, we made allowance for it ; we are paying for it also, because an evil once tolerated grows. That is what we see in Hyderabad.

Why are these Communists creating trouble there? How did they grow? It was because the Hyderabad Government was foolish enough to allow them to grow for its own ends and we had no control over them then to be able to suppress them. And what is it that we see there now? In three or four months' time, 200 or more young Congressmen, their own brothers, have been murdered. Is it a sign of freedom that in the first year of freedom you have 200 Congressmen killed in cold blood in a small area? Once these terrorists are driven out from that area, where will they go? Inside your border. They will harass you ; they will play the same game with you. To the Communists, my appeal may be in vain, because they do not listen. I told them immediately after my release from jail last time that I was prepared to take all the Communists into the Congress, to forget the past and keep the doors open provided they give up violence and cease to draw their inspiration from foreign countries. Even now our offer is open, but if terrorism is the only method they want to employ, because they cannot defeat us at the polls and separate us from the masses of India, then it is our misfortune that we have to put our own dear young men and women into prison or to drive them underground.

That is one section of the people with whom we have to deal ; the other is the R.S.S. I have made them an open offer : 'Change your plans, give up secrecy, eschew communal conflict, respect the Constitution of India, show your loyalty to the Flag and make us believe that we can trust your words. To say one thing and to do another is a game which will not do. In one year of freedom we have experienced many things and learnt many lessons. Whether they are friends or foes, whether they are our own dear young children, we are not going to allow them to play with fire, so that the house is not set on fire. It would be criminal

to allow young men to indulge in acts of violence and destruction, to let the lessons that our neighbouring countries have learnt be wasted on us.

Thus I have spoken to the R.S.S. and to the Communists. Then you have our Sikh friends. Some of them have also begun to threaten us and throw challenges. They are the only community in India which is allowed, with the unanimous voice of the Constituent Assembly, to keep arms. No other community is allowed to keep a sword or a kirpan. Why did we do this? Not in order that they might threaten the government with the use of force. Government is prepared to hand over power to anybody who can take the people with him. But if anybody is going to play false and threaten the popular government, the latter will not fail the people.

These are some of the many forces we are handling simultaneously in the first or second year of our freedom. We know that we have your affection, your love, your confidence, but that is not enough. You have seen our friends in the railways threaten us. They say there is going to be a strike in the railways if we do not meet their demands. We are willing to do so if we can. We would be most anxious to do so. But I must point out to those who are in charge of the railway union that there are millions in this country who do not get as much as the railwaymen get ; let them not create forces which they will not be able to control ; let the railwaymen understand that it is also their duty to share the misfortunes of the people in a period of trouble. Let us tide over the difficulty first. After all, the railway is a nationalised concern ; it is not a private company. Imagine the consequences, in this period of trouble, if railwaymen do not play their part. If there is a strike on the railways and we have to move the army from one place to another with railway communications cut off, what will happen? We continuously need to move food from one place to another swiftly, as we are faced with the threatened famine. If during such a period the South Indian railway, which has threatened to strike, goes on strike, who will starve, and what would be the consequences? When

the Railway Federation suspended its strike threat and kept it in abeyance, the other group called them capitalist agents. Now these other people have called for a strike ; they know that they are in a minority and they will not succeed in making the railwaymen go on strike. So their only weapon is terrorism, sabotage, dislocation and disorder.

The Provincial Governments naturally have to tackle these people and immediately the Federation comes in with a statement that it is a wrong policy. I would like to know what is the right policy. When a house is on fire, is it the right policy to throw petrol or kerosene on it, or water?

We are living in very difficult times ; yet the heart of the country is sound. The whole country knows that we are carrying an unbearable burden. Yet if anyone wants to see what the country thinks, let him come to the polls ; I am prepared to accept the challenge. I am prepared to vacate as many seats as you like and have a trial of strength. And if you are able to take the country with you, we shall bless you, because the country is not going to follow any path which is foreign to Indian culture and civilisation and the path that Mahatma Gandhi has shown. But I want to ask you why a few people round about the border of Hyderabad are terrorising the people in Krishna district? It is the fault of Congressmen. Are they united? Why are they quarrelling? Why do they not understand their responsibility? We made all kinds of sacrifices all our lives. Why did we make these sacrifices? Let not South India lose its good name and reputation. I appeal to you to realise what is happening. Did you ever imagine that Gandhiji would hear of a Congressman murdering a Congressman, or a Congressman instigating or helping a Communist to murder another Congressman? If the South Indian Railway is threatened, or if those railwaymen who work in South India are asked to go on strike, have you no responsibility? Everyone in India has to realise that, as a free citizen of India, he must shoulder graver and greater responsibility if India is to take its proper place amongst the nations of the world.

Yesterday, I was presented an address by the Chambers

of Commerce. It was in fact a catalogue of grievances. I had to tell them the unpleasant truth that unless everybody in this country, that is businessmen, labourers, industrialists, students and government, all combine and co-operate, we are not going to make progress. We have not yet put democracy on a sound basis. In a democracy, of course, it is the will of the people that prevails, but the people must have experience to make their own free will felt and must have the responsibility to see that everyone is going to fulfil his obligations.

In this country, the greatest need of the hour is food. We import millions of tons of food into our country. We have not got the ships to bring the food that we want. So we pay crores of rupees as freight charges simply to bring the food here. We have not enough boats even to catch fish. We have no mercantile marine. We have nothing left in this country ; for the last 200 years it has been bled white ; during the war years in particular, every ounce of blood has been taken out. Our railway system has been completely disorganised. The Transport Member makes tremendous efforts to set it right. But the railways are like a decrepit old widow. Railway sleepers and rails were taken out and sent to various theatres of war. We cannot replace the wagons which have been overused for so many years. We cannot get locomotives. We cannot make them here ; we have yet to establish factories for meeting the requirements of our country.

We must have a good mercantile marine ; so we are building a fine port at Vizagapatnam. But it is only a beginning. A small country like Portugal has got pockets on our soil ; we also have French colonies. Our friends in these areas who are fighting for freedom along with us ask us to first settle this question ; others talk of the wages for labour ; and still others want us to deal with the businessmen first and to give them their due. The businessmen are frightened of the talk of nationalisation. They say: 'Unless you give us conditions in which industry can thrive, we cannot invest money or we cannot get money. So production has been at a standstill. We cannot produce more

wealth in this country.' The Communists and the Socialists say: let us first divide whatever is left and be all poor. But if you do not produce anything, then neither you nor any other section of the people will have anything. Therefore, so far as food is concerned, I have a grievance against Congressmen and against those people who were in the Congress and today are preaching to peasants not to help this government in procurement and to ask for more money. They are no better than the other people who say: 'Do not work, stop work, go slow, ask for more wages.' Because if there is no procurement, then the only course open to us is to import more and more, and importing more is nothing but economic ruin of this country.

If we in this country realize our responsibility, there will be no dearth of food. Of course, there is scarcity to a certain extent; the shortage of food according to our statistics is 7 per cent; in a vast country like this, if we act up to our responsibilities, this is negligible. Many people waste their food and cook more than they should. Those people should put a stop to this wastage. Then we should produce more food. Every inch of land that is available should be used for growing vegetables, fruit and other food. Wherever there is waste land which can be reclaimed, it would be the duty of government, local bodies, zamindars, and every citizen of India to use all his resources in the immediate task of growing more food on it. Thirdly, whatever surplus you have got, give it to the Government. When your neighbours are starving, do not be selfish. That is not the way which Gandhiji showed us. That is not our culture. Let not our neighbour starve; we must share his misery. Educate the peasants; tell them it is a religious duty to give all their surplus for government procurement, so that Government can decrease the imports that are being made.

There are many Congressmen who are indifferent to this matter. They think that elections are coming and they will be unpopular if they ask for procurement. A greater crime is committed by those who teach the peasants to ask for higher prices and not to give crops for procurement.

That is a crime against humanity. A real Congressman would say: 'My friends, our neighbours are dying; our country is being ruined; let us share the suffering of our brothers.' I am saying hard things to Congressmen because they have a greater responsibility, greater influence and a greater hold on the people.

Let us all put our heads as well as our hands together, tighten up our belts and be prepared to share the sufferings for a while. It is only for a while, because I assure you that the economy of the country is sound; the heart of the country is sound; there is immense wealth in the country. The country is full of mineral resources and wealth. We have simply to use our brains and our resources to take them out and use them. But it will take time; it is not an easy thing. We shall require experts, machinery and capital goods. If we tide over this short period, India will be flowing with milk and honey.

I am extremely touched by the affection that you have shown me. I have said some things which may be harsh, but however bitter they may be, they are a dose of medicine. In return for your affection, I can only ask you to forgive me if I have said anything harsh; take it as a piece of advice which comes from an honest and humble servant.

IN YEARS TO COME

I AM overwhelmed by the affectionate welcome extended to me. Your good wishes and blessings are an inspiration to me to live and serve. It has been a difficult year for me. For mere bodily troubles, however, I do not care. Dust returns to dust. But the fact that this has been a very difficult year for the country worries me day and night. The coming year may be even more critical. One wrong step can bring the country to ruin.

Speech at a reception held by the citizens of Delhi on his 75th birthday, October 31, 1949

My 74 years are a fairly long life span in a country like India. There is not much time left to me in this world. But what departure could be better than to depart with all the love that you have shown. I can only pray to God to make me every day more deserving of your blessings as long as I live. But India's leader, our helmsman, is abroad these days. Mine is a limited role—to strengthen his hands as long as I can. He is exerting himself to enhance the honour of our country. Of course, it was Gandhiji above all who gained for India a place of honour in the world by the way he lived and still more by the way he died. Next to him, our leader has raised the status of our country by the spirit with which he is doing his work abroad. For true honour, however, and for the protection of our integrity, we should set our house in order. Honour abroad without strength at home cannot last long. We have to live up to the expectations we raise in the world.

People, both from within and outside the Congress, are criticising us. Some go to the extent of saying that British rule was better. This is unfortunate because when we think like this, we show a preference for slavery. But we should not forget that our centuries-old slavery was a burden set so oppressively on our chest that we could not even breathe. We have thrown off that burden but have yet to recover our breath. New life is being infused into an almost dead body. We are not yet fit to walk. If we try to run before we have learnt how to walk, we will break our legs.

Let no one think that we are ignorant of hunger and want in the country. If we were so ignorant, Mr. Churchill would have been right in saying that the government of this country had been handed over to 'men of straw'. But even he realises now that these are not 'men of straw' but men of a peculiar strength. It should not be forgotten that there is suffering everywhere in the world. What we need is economic independence and that is not so easy of attainment. There are so many barriers to be crossed. Devaluation has also created many difficulties which the peasant in the field and the labourer in the factory cannot realize. But those who fear difficulties can achieve nothing. Whatever

the difficulties, there is a power in man which can face them and overcome them. But it is given to men, not cowards, to achieve this.

You must understand that great sacrifices will be needed to achieve economic independence, sacrifices of a nature different from those made in the freedom struggle ; and all classes will have to contribute, the farmers, the factory workers, the rich as well as the middle class people who are already hard pressed. The hardship may be less in the case of the rich, even none, let us presume. But in our country rich persons are very few. Ours is a poor country with a sprinkling of the rich. It is no use chasing them all the time. I will deal with them any way you like, but I know we have few men of experience in our country today.

It is the bulk of the people who must tighten their belts. Do not give to the government if you cannot afford it. Deposit what you can as a loan. Not only will our future be ensured but industry also will get a boost. Today we do not have enough financial resources for expanding industry and producing wealth. But if each individual makes his contribution in the form of savings, the savings of crores of people will go a long way towards achieving economic independence. There is no other way. From those who are wealthy we will try to get by persuasion. They will not be left out. But you must not say that we should take from them first and you will only follow later. There should be some kind of healthy competition here.

I have no fear of internal dangers now. Whenever there is danger from outside, the world will share the risk, because the Big Powers, affluent though they are, are always afraid lest another country became more powerful. Gandhiji taught us to shun fear. People of diverse faiths should live together and not quarrel among themselves. It is one thing if some Big Powers clash, but small powers cannot cast an evil eye on us. If they do, they will perish. We do not want to attack or coerce or plunder any country. But we want to make our country strong. In this you should all co-operate. If in this work I have your blessings, my life would be more worth living.

DISORDER HAMPERS PROGRESS

I AM fully aware of Bengal's agony. My heart goes out to the people of Bengal, but I am confident that, as always, they will face the difficulties with determination. Ever since India's freedom was at stake, Bengal has shown courage in every crisis. The leaders and the youth of Bengal endured great cruelties in the fight against alien rule. All India is indebted to Bengal for that. Later, when the alien grip was relaxed but the transition was still half-way through, the power was shared by the Muslim League and the British. That was a period of travail for you and you stood up to it courageously. Bengal or India can never forget what was called the "direct action" by those people. How can the plight of Calcutta in those days of forgotten? Nor can the subsequent events in Noakhali be forgotten by you or India. Those pages of history—good or bad, such as they are—cannot be deleted.

Gandhiji was there in those days. He walked from village to village and shared in the people's woes. He gave them sustenance and consolation. For a few days he stayed in Calcutta too. Then, either under provocation or in sympathy with you, our Bihari brethren showed their anger and the fire spread in India, particularly in the north. It came to be felt that unless the alien rule was removed somehow or the other, whatever their intentions, peace in the country was impossible, nor was it easy to remove the strife between the two communities. In the circumstances, we decided to accept partition of the country on the condition that Punjab and Bengal should also be divided. It was God's will that when others wanted to partition Bengal, the people resisted the decision at great sacrifice, but partition of the same Bengal had to be accepted when there was no alternative. No dissenting voice was raised at that time because everyone understood that there was no other way out. We were clear in our minds that we could never accept Calcutta being taken away from us. The Muslim League leaders did not accept this. They were averse to having a 'moth-eaten' Pakistan. They wanted the whole of

Bengal and the whole of Punjab. Ultimately they came round but the bloodshed which then occurred has left a wound which will take some time to heal. Bengal's hurt is deep. Patience and endurance are needed, as on many previous occasions, but better days will come. We must do nothing to spoil things. We must act with discretion, not in anger.

In the part of Bengal that has separated from us, there are Hindus as well as Muslims. We want all of them to be happy. We want all wounds to heal quickly. For this, patience and forbearance are needed on both sides. Those who are our flesh and blood, those who fought by our side in the freedom struggle, cannot suddenly become foreign to us because they are on the other side of a line. There are people in South Africa, people of Indian origin but with African citizenship, whom we still try to help. If they have a claim on us, surely those in that part of Bengal too have a claim. The bonds of kinship and economic and social links cannot be broken. But to remove their difficulties, we have first to set our own house in order.

Some people mislead the refugees who have come here and incite them by saying that the Government does nothing for them. But this does them no good. It does not mitigate their suffering. We can help them only if we set our house in order. We must stop the daily incidents of bomb and cracker blasts, burning of trains and cars, assaults on policemen, etc. Such occurrences distract attention from relief work. People elsewhere get the impression that lawlessness prevails in Calcutta and living there is difficult. Only on coming here do they find that such is not the case. A handful of malcontents want to hold Calcutta and the Bengal Government in the grip of fear. I cannot understand their motives and intentions. I can understand a communist ideology but how can such vandalism help? But what pains me more is the attitude of the lakhs of other residents of Calcutta. Why don't we understand our duty? It is wrong to think that combating lawlessness is the duty only of the police and the Government. Today's Government is not a foreign Government. A foreign Government would have

used the old methods which we cannot use. Of course, when you feel you do not want this Government, you can remove it. We do not want to delay elections at all. A lot of money will have to be spent on the crores of people who have been enfranchised for the first time, but that does not matter. Much time and energy will have to be spent. Even that is of small consequence. What is needed even more is the right atmosphere. To those who think they have a substitute for the ballot box in the shape of revolution, I would respectfully submit that bombs and attacks on police are not revolution but a form of madness. It is the work of lunatics. I could understand if it were a few young men venting their frustrations in this way. But deliberate abetment of chaos helps no one. In the last war, a breakdown of the foreign Government's administration led to 30 lakh starvation deaths in Bengal. No one could protect them. But today when seventy per cent of the policemen are Bengalis themselves, what is the sense in attacking them? They impose restrictions for our own good, not on orders from any foreigners. Any threat to civil liberties comes not from them but from those who foster the terrorist cult. You have to stop them if you want to keep your liberty. You cannot pass the buck to the police. No democracy can be run with the policeman's baton. It has become a habit with us to blame the police. We have to change this attitude. It was another police whom we criticised night and day. Today they are our volunteers. We do not pay them as much as we ought to because we are unable to do so. But if you do not have sympathy for them in the work they are doing today, you will regret it.

I am aware of unemployment among the youth in Bengal. Thousands of young men in colleges are having difficulties with their studies because they have to work in shifts, something which used to happen only in factories. They have to work in three shifts and I can understand their difficulties and those of the professors. The forty or fifty thousand who graduate every year also face unemployment. Something has to be done about it. Calcutta is among India's biggest industrial centres. We need the kind of wealth

produced in the city as much as we need the kind of wealth produced by farmers in the rural areas. Lack of one cannot be compensated by the other. But the Bengalis have the least share in this industrial sector. What is the reason for this? Those who own the factories and the companies have a duty towards the youth of Bengal. Similarly the unemployed youth of Bengal must understand that we cannot discriminate on the basis of provincialism. We have to discourage such narrow parochial influences.

Bengal has been left with a shrunken size after partition and there is a demand that some area from Bihar be added to it. I tried to do something about it but this is not easy because people have to be persuaded, the rulers and the people have to be persuaded, without precipitating any disorder. You must have seen how I brought round the 550-600 States without allowing any disorder to happen. Whoever indulged in disorder broke his head. You must help me in solving the Bengal problem similarly. Do not create trouble for me, do not put obstacles in my way. I want to do it ; but for one thing I am beset by bodily troubles ; for another, if I do not solve the other big problems in our country, they will affect you too and you will be in deeper trouble. That has to be avoided while your work is done. I want your cooperation so that we do not need so much police. I have never needed a policeman in my life, for who would want to kill me? But Gandhiji also said the same thing. So the police insists on following me around. We have to change this atmosphere by curbing the hot-heads amongst us. Similarly, our working people have to understand that they will be given their due ; the owners and employers must give up their greed ; the tradespeople must desist from black-marketeering and profiteering. Those who talk of China should remember that even Russia had to make immense sacrifices in its early years after the revolution. America, the world's wealthiest country, took seven years to frame its Constitution after independence. Ours is a vast country, yet we have framed our Constitution in three years in spite of all our troubles. America's wealth came from years of hard work. Much effort over many years

went to make the present affluence. Our independence is only two years old and we want to have things shared out in portions. That would only make everyone poor and no one rich. I admit some of our people are rich but their riches are nothing compared to the riches of rich Americans. We want to use their wealth properly. Otherwise they will lose their wealth and we will gain nothing at all.

Inciting workers to strike, to go slow, to sit in, will damage us greatly. These things may be necessary sometimes, but not now. Our Indian traditions are such that we can sit down and arrive at agreements. The rich also have to be told their duty. They made a lot of black money under foreign rule during the war. They thought it was all right to avoid income-tax so that the alien rulers would get as little as possible. But now it helps neither them nor us. Some people want us to nationalise all industry. How are we to run nationalised industries if we cannot run our ordinary administration? It is easy to take over any industry we want to, but we do not have the resources to run them, enough experienced men, men of expertise and integrity. Today when we impose controls on business activities about which there are complaints, no one speaks well of those who administer the controls. We are burdened with complaints of bribery and Government gets a bad name. Gandhiji advised us to remove controls. So we made an experiment which landed us in so much trouble that there were demands for reimposition of controls. Now that we have imposed controls again, some people say Government does not know its own mind. They are right, but, much of the government work in this vast country depended, for its disposal, on the prestige of the Englishmen who manned a little over a half of our administrative services and who have now departed. Today you see no English face among our policemen. British governors have left only their statues behind. What else is revolution if not this?

What we do in the next five years is going to shape India's future. All of you, the employees and the employers, the young and the old, men and women, have to work together to build up the country, eschewing strife, embracing

the ways of peace and persuasion. If we spread poison and create provincial jealousies, the only result will be a flight of Calcutta's industries to places where there is greater peace. I would appeal to Bengal's youth, in this formative period when their characters are being moulded, to control their minds, get ready to work in industry and learn to work the Government. You must not adopt the attitude that it is none of your business or concern. When a tram or a bus carrying fifty passengers is stopped by two young men and the passengers are asked to get down, they have no business to obey like a flock of sheep. It does not behove citizens of a free India. They have a duty and a right to tweak the two young men's ears and scold them. Only thus can things work out well.

I read in the papers that policemen are beaten up at some place or the other every day. Some time ago when the police opened fire somewhere, people clamoured for trials and inquiries. Why don't they make as much noise when policemen are beaten up? Has the Government to function or has it not? It can function well only if every free Indian realizes that it is his duty to nurture and protect this freedom. The handful of people who are creating trouble should be curbed. Volunteer squads should be set up in localities where these things happen. There is talk of the underground. The son, the brother or the relation who works in the "underground" should be warned to desist from the wrong path or be prepared to be turned over to the police. Without such active co-operation, things cannot be set right and the increasing expenditure finally falls on you. All the expenditure on police, jails, etc., comes from your pockets. It is diverted from the poor, needy refugees whom they are misleading. We may also have to provide for our brothers who are being persecuted in East Pakistan and for whom life has been made impossible.

If this thing goes on and they are hounded out, it will create a very difficult situation. So we should set our house in order. I beseech you to avoid internecine quarrels. Do not air your differences in such a way as to create a false impression among outsiders.

We have to advance productive work and increase the nation's wealth. We have to persuade the farmers to grow as much as they can, keep what they need for their own use and give the remainder to the Government at the appointed rates. There are those who incite the farmers to demand inflated rates. But where will the money come from? Not from those provocateurs but from you and me. We may have imposed controls and failed to check all graft and corruption, but we have not let anyone die of starvation, unlike what happened under the British in Bengal when thirty lakh people died. Crores of maunds of foodgrains have to be imported at great cost for this purpose.

Let us all sweat it out. Every Indian could share in the difficulties we face. If we share adversity for a year or two, we will have a happier prospect thereafter. Bengal must be restored to its rightful place in the forefront of Indian life.

To the Congress workers, my last appeal is to unite. All our lives we have been devoting ourselves to suffering for the people. What does it matter if we get a ministry or not? You have fought famine and floods. Those who are not in the ministry find fault with it. This is no way to run the country. If someone does wrong, of course, he should be taken to task where it can be proved. Otherwise, we only spoil our own reputation. If the police show any shortcoming, the Government should be approached, but we must forget the old habit of criticising them in general terms. Today they work devotedly in difficult circumstances. We must give them our support and sympathy. To the newspapermen, the members of the professions and the intelligentsia, my appeal is that they should say and do what is right, raise their voices for the proper causes and raise volunteer squads to protect the honour of Calcutta and of Bengal.

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THREE YEARS OF FREEDOM

TODAY we are celebrating the third anniversary of independence. Looking back at the broad sweep of events since we became free, my predominant feeling is one of thankfulness and relief. We are grateful to Providence for having seen the country safely out of many a critical period. We have been able to survive many trials and difficulties which lay in our path.

In the world of today every country has to tread warily along the road to recovery from the legacies of the last war. We have had to be doubly cautious because, in addition to the troubles which a distracted world at large faces today, we had our own peculiar problems, problems which affected the very roots of our existence, tested every fibre of our being, reacted on the very fundamentals of our life and touched the very foundations of our infant democracy.

There are bound to be different reactions to our survival. Some will call it the miracle of our staying power. Some may say that the country has escaped a worse fate in spite of us. Many will probably give us the credit for having muddled through our difficulties.

We, as Government, of course, claim that despite our shortcomings the ship of State has been steered safely through the many rocks and shoals that lay in its course. Whatever the views, I am confident of one thing — namely, that if we have survived, it is because of our own intrinsic efforts, in whatever directions they may have been exerted. We have relied on ourselves, whether in the external or the internal domain, and it is that self-reliance which has enabled us to achieve consolidation at home and prestige abroad.

Today, therefore, if I have faith in the future, it is based on this spirit of self-reliance. Nevertheless, I would not be true to myself if I did not confess to a sense of apprehension and anxiety. Certain tendencies and developments in our administrative and public affairs fill me with some disquiet and sadness of heart. The country can realise the feelings of one who has spent the major part of his

public life in witnessing epics of sacrifice and selfless endeavour and feats of discipline and unity and who now finds enacted before him scenes which mock at the past.

Our public life seems to be degenerating into a fen of stagnant waters ; our conscience is troubled with doubts and despair about the possibilities of improvement. We do not seem to be profiting either from history or experience. We appear helplessly to be watching the sickle of time taking away the rich corn in us, leaving behind the bare and withered stalks.

Yet the tasks that confront us are as complex and taxing as ever. They demand the best in us while we face them with indifferent resources. We seem to devote too much time to things that hardly matter and too little to those that count. We talk while the paramount need is that of action. We are critical of other people's exertions, but lack the will to contribute our own. We are trying to overtake others by giant strides while we have hardly learnt to walk.

On this, the third milestone of our career as a free country, I hope my countrymen will forgive me if I have tried to turn the searchlight inwards. In my life, I have now reached a stage when time is of the essence. Age has not diminished the passion which I bear to see my country great and to ensure that the foundations of our freedom are well and securely laid. Bodily infirmity has not dimmed my ardour to exert my utmost for the peace, prosperity and advancement of the Motherland. But "the bird of time has a little way to fly, and lo! it is on the wing".

With all the sincerity and earnestness at my command and claiming the privilege of age, I, therefore, appeal to my fellow countrymen on this solemn and auspicious day to reflect on what they see in and around themselves and, with the strength and faith that comes from self-introspection, sustain the hope and confidence which an old servant of theirs still has in the future of our country.

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TO THE DEFENCE FORCES

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LIVE UP TO YOUR DHARMA

I AM very glad to meet you today. Hitherto you have served under foreign rulers. Even then you enhanced the reputation of Indians as good fighters. You fought gallantly in the last war and won high praise. You did honour to India. Now India is free. You have your own Government. You have your own people as Governors and Ministers. Freedom has brought responsibilities in its wake. A great responsibility thus rests on your shoulders. We have not the slightest doubt that you will prove yourself worthy of it.

The first and the foremost duty of a soldier is to live and die for his country. It is his *dharma*. I am confident, nay, sure that you will live up to your *dharma*. You have to maintain the internal and external security of India. You have to guard the borders of India. You have to carry out the orders given to you with the utmost despatch and efficiency. You are not to observe distinctions of caste and creed. You are Indians first and Indians last.

I am sure you will not do anything now which will be unworthy of your traditions. You are the servants of India and it should be your sacred duty and privilege to serve India, your motherland, with all your heart. Duty must come above everything.

Address to officers and men of the Assam Regiment, Shillong, January 2, 1948

THE ROLE OF THE ARMY

IT has given me great pleasure to meet you today. The world has today shrunk and become very small. Day before yesterday I was in Delhi. We left Delhi at 8 a.m. and reached Gauhati at 2 p.m. One can reach England in a day and America in two days. India too has shrunk likewise.

But she is free today. Freedom has brought responsibilities, unfortunately mixed with troubles, in its wake. But that does not matter. We remain undaunted by troubles. A transitional period is always critical in the life of a people. Nobody should feel worried about it. Our country has been divided. Our conception of division was as between two brothers who could not live together.

Ours is a big country. We have to make strenuous efforts to make it a compact unit. There are small states, there are Tribal Areas and there are Excluded Areas. All this makes our task complex and difficult. Nevertheless we have to solve all these problems so that we may become a strong and united people capable of competing with any nation and country in the world.

You have to play a very important role in this task. The Army is being nationalised. Perhaps you know now there will be no European in the Operational Command. Now we have to manage the Army ourselves. There are great opportunities before you. Everything is coming into your hands and it will be for you to prove yourselves equal to this great responsibility. You should keep above party politics and distinctions of caste or creed should have no place in your ranks.

There were till recently, a very large number of European officers in the Army. Some of them have left and the rest are going away. By the end of March there will be no European officers except a few hundred who will be retained as advisers. You shall have to fill their places. We have a sufficient number of Indian officers and if there is a shortage, we shall recruit more.

You fought gallantly in the past and proved yourselves

first class fighters ; but then you fought for others. Now you have to fight for your own country under your own Government. Your responsibility has thus vastly increased and will continue to increase. You should prepare yourselves for that responsibility. On the civil side there is no European officer now and on the military side also shortly there will be none.

We too have been fighting during the last 35 years under the guidance of Gandhiji. We had no guns, but we used the unfailing weapon of non-violence. We succeeded in our struggle for freedom and today India is free and in Free India there are vast opportunities for you. We too had no experience of administration on the civil side, but we shouldered the responsibility. Responsibility makes shoulders strong and we have become strong. Now it is for us on the civil side and for you on the military side to make an all-out effort to maintain and consolidate this hard-won freedom. Let yours be the privilege to do this job and enhance and guard the reputation of free India.

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MISCELLANEOUS

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SINCERE SUPPORT FOR INDONESIA

INDIA'S link with Indonesia dates back to remote times. Indonesia, even to this day, enshrines some of the cultural relics of ages in which our contact with Indonesia was close and intimate. Centuries of alien rule could not sever these bonds of friendship and culture, nor dim the enthusiasm of the inhabitants of the two countries to come closer together. This service, therefore, creates no new bonds, but merely revives and rejuvenates the old ones. I have every confidence that this ethereal link will draw us closer together in the common and arduous tasks that await us.

After years of heroic struggles, India has attained her full independence. Indonesia is still in the grip of foreign rule and we, who have known the agony and anguish of slavery, naturally turn with a feeling and sympathetic heart to Indonesia in the valiant struggle which she is waging to shake off the foreign yoke. India knows that there can be no real freedom for her so long as there are manacles round Indonesia's wrists. We, therefore, send to you, Indonesians, the most sincere assurance of our support in your struggle for emancipation.

We assure you that we approach this venture purely from a spirit of service. All India Radio will broadcast to you news without bias and without selfish motive. The Indonesian service will foster peace and amity and will rediscover things of common interest to the two countries. No propaganda or tendentiousness shall taint it. These broadcasts shall be a symbol of the spirit of resurgence which pervades the people of Asia today. I wish the service god speed.

Message on the occasion of the starting of a new Indonesian Service by All India Radio, New Delhi, October 12, 1947

REALIZE YOUR DUTIES

I ASSURE the Princes that their rights would be safe in my hands. . . .

After the Rajkot Satyagraha, I had taken a vow that I would not visit Kathiawar till full responsible government was achieved. I am glad that it has been fulfilled now. I congratulate the Ruler on his granting full responsible government. I firmly believed that no sooner had India achieved her freedom than Indian Princes would realize their duties and grant responsible government to their people. Within twenty-four hours of my visit, 40 States of Orissa and C.P. decided to hand over their powers to the Indian Dominion and merge with the provinces.

I ask the people to realize fully their duties. They should not give way to their jubilation so as to harm their own interests. I have heard complaints from several Princes of Kathiawar about the misbehaviour of the people in their States, and I warn them that such a state of affairs can no longer be tolerated. People want full responsible government, and not unfettered government.

Mahatma Gandhi has laid down four principles for ideal government. They are: full development of cottage industries, rule of village *panchayats*, removal of untouchability and Hindu-Muslim unity.

Unity of Kathiawar should not be lost sight of in all your deliberations, so that it might finally be merged into a greater Gujarat Province where the elected representatives of the various States of Kathiawar and Kutch might take their seats and mould the future.

When I was asked why I was coming here, I replied that I had a responsibility upon me. The Princes are uneasy. I want to comfort them and tell them which way their interests lie. It was once a dream that Kathiawar should be made into a single unit and Gujarat a separate province. Today it is nearing fulfilment. Gujarat, Kathiawar and Kutch should unite and do justice to each other. Everyone should take pride that it is his province.

A HAPPY THOUGHT

BROADCASTING in India is a plant of comparatively recent growth. Nevertheless, India has made considerable progress in making the country radio-minded and in the provision of facilities for broadcasting during the last ten years. The growth has hitherto been, however, without a systematic planning. For the first time a definite plan was prepared in connection with the various development projects of the post-war period. The beginnings of this planning were, however, made while the war was still on.

The project for a radio station at Patna was sanctioned in 1940 and would have materialised earlier but for the fact that certain other priorities commanded our attention during the war and there were constructional and other difficulties which held up the project. Thanks to the facilities given by the Bihar Government in making available a building ideally situated for our purpose, half-way between Bankipur and New Patna, as well as Patna Railway Station and Digha Ghat, it has been possible to complete the project within what must be regarded as a creditably short time.

The studio installation work started on November 17, immediately after the building was made available to us. It has thus taken only two months to complete the installation.

The present building is undoubtedly a temporary arrangement. The Government of Bihar have again been kind enough to offer an excellent site of about eighteen acres near the High Court for the permanent studio building on a nominal rental. The lease will be finalised shortly and Patna will then have an up-to-date studio building. This work would, however, proceed in the usual course and will take some time. -

In the eight-year plan which we have recently produced, we have endeavoured to balance all these competing factors with a view to providing as full and complete facilities as possible in the five principal zones in which we have divided India for the purpose of broadcasting. These zones have

been determined after taking into account linguistic, musical and similar cultural affinities. We have also to ensure that the voice of the radio reaches not only the comparatively well-off town dweller but also important rural centres where community sets have been installed, or distant villages where an enterprising listener not only possesses a radio set but perhaps shares its benefit with the rest of the community.

In the province of Bihar I find that the total number of licences current on September 30, 1947, was only 759. We can assume that ninety per cent of these are concentrated in urban areas. It is, therefore, obvious that if the radio station is to serve its purpose, the Provincial Government must arrange for the distribution of community sets in rural areas on a comparatively large scale. Along with this there must be a drive for more receiving sets in the town, so that the educative and instructive function of the broadcasting centre can achieve the best and widest possible results. It is, therefore, for the Government and the people of Bihar to utilise to its best advantage the facility which the Central Government is providing for them.

The benefit of this service would be clear from the fact that while we are going to spend about Rs. 5 lakhs annually on staff, programmes, etc., for our transmissions from Patna, the total income from licences, which is the only source of revenue, does not exceed Rs. 76,000. With the increase in licences of receiving sets, it would be possible for us not only to reduce the margin between revenue and expenditure, but also to improve the quality of our service so that Patna can become in course of time a station worthy of the province and of the culture which the province represents.

It was a happy thought that I should be asked to inaugurate the radio station on a day which had been in the past associated with the taking of the freedom pledge. That this day should have been chosen for the inauguration of this radio station — the symbol of the freedom of the air — is indeed a happy augury for its success and prosperity.

AN UNASHAMED IMPERIALIST

THE Right Hon'ble Winston Churchill, His Majesty's Leader of the Opposition and Britain's war-time Premier, while bemoaning the disappearance of the title of Emperor of India from the Royal Titles, has indulged in a characteristically ignorant and extremely prejudiced outburst against India and its Government. Mr. Churchill's disastrous record in relation to India both as member of Government and in Opposition is well known. His intervention has every time been exercised to the violent prejudice of this country and, in the ultimate analysis, to the detriment of his own. Mr. Churchill is an unashamed imperialist and, at a time when imperialism is on its last legs, he is the proverbial last ditcher for whom obstinacy and dogged consistency mean more than reason, imagination or wisdom. Many an attempt to build friendship between India and Britain has been wrecked by his refusal to face facts and attempts to mould them to suit his own predilections. It is well known that when the Cripps offer was made, it was he who every time thwarted the attempts of Mr. Roosevelt to see that justice is done to India's legitimate aspirations and its free and willing co-operation enlisted in the war effort. At the time of Lord Wavell's Simla Conference, it was he who was responsible for its break-up and failure. If any of these attempts had succeeded, the history of India and of the relationship between Britain and India, despite the bitterness and intensity of freedom's struggle, would have been different. We might have avoided the evil of partition and the disasters that attended it. Fortunately for Britain, the cup of disasters was by then full and the British electorate decided to change the pilot. Through a realistic policy followed by the Labour Government and the bold, imaginative step taken by one of Britain's wisest statesmen, Lord Mountbatten, and the atmosphere of friendship and cordiality which he helped to create, the mischief done by the Churchill regime has been to a large extent undone. But it seems Mr. Churchill is still

Statement in reply to Mr. Winston Churchill's attack on India at a Conservative Party rally, Dehra Dun, June 29, 1948

seized by his favourite disease, Hindu-phobia, and is determined to wreck all that good work by his most unwise disregard of the proverbial virtue of silence.

It might well be expected of a man of his record of offices and positions of responsibility that he would exercise that discretion and restraint which are characteristic of sobriety and ripeness of official life. How far it was appropriate for him to have attacked in such terms the Government and the people of a sister Dominion, I shall leave to His Majesty's Government and the people of Great Britain to determine. I shall only say this, that we have been patient for too long with such unseemly, prejudiced and mischievous attacks by high-placed Britishers on our administration, our leaders and our people. I have not seen anything even remotely like this being said of any other member of the Commonwealth. One of them has outraged the world's conscience by a barefaced and wanton policy of racial prejudice and an open disregard of fundamental principles of the United Nations Charter. But Mr. Churchill's elastic conscience, with his infinite capacity for bearing wrongs done to others by his own race, has never registered even a formal protest. I should like, therefore, to tell His Majesty's Government that if they wish India to maintain friendly relations with Great Britain they must see that India is in no way subjected to malicious and venomous attacks of this kind and that British statesmen and others learn to speak of this country in terms of friendship and goodwill. Owing to years of deep-seated prejudice and owing to ignorance, it may be difficult for some of them to do so but if future disasters are to be avoided, it has got to be done.

That Mr. Churchill's attack on India and its Government is both mischievous and venomous can be judged from the way in which he has disregarded the all-parties responsibility for the passage of the Indian Independence Act in July last year through Parliament. We ourselves foresaw that if the final stage of the grant of freedom to India were made a party issue, it would enhance our difficulties manifold. We were fully aware of the machinations of the vested interests both in India and the United Kingdom to hand over as

difficult a legacy to India as possible. Balkanisation of India was being actively promoted. Large scale disturbances were being manufactured. Vandalism at the peak of impending departure from the scene of personal rule was actuating many of the Churchillian agents in power here. We, therefore, decided to drink the bitter cup and accept the lesser evil of partition, only on condition that it commanded all parties' support. That support was both promised and given. It was this agreement of all parties that secured the safe and speedy passage of the Indian Independence Act, for which there is no parallel in the history of the British Parliament. We thought Mr. Churchill was an honourable man and would abide by the obligations inherent in the agreement. But obviously he finds it hard to recognise that India is now a free and independent country.

If proof of his deep-seated prejudice and his medieval mind were needed, it would be enough to show that whilst he refers to Kashmir as being four-fifth Muslim, he has omitted to mention that Hyderabad is four-fifth Hindu ; and a creation of the eighteenth century, as the Nizam's State is, is suddenly by the magic of Mr. Churchill's words transformed into an "ancient State". The fact of the matter is that, to vary the words of a British statesman, whether Mr. Churchill roars like a lion or coos like a dove, it is his ignorance and blind prejudice that must come out prominently. We can well realise what a disaster the British public avoided by forcing Mr. Churchill to give up the seals of office. We had hoped that this blow to his personal fortune administered by his people at the height of his glory would make him a sadder but wiser man. But it appears that through his ancestors, Mr. Churchill has acquired the well-known characteristic of the Stuarts of not being able to learn or unlearn anything.

Mr. Churchill has referred, apparently with some self-satisfaction, to the large casualties that occurred during the disturbances more than nine months ago. Obviously it did not suit his purpose to mention that since then India had settled down to peaceful conditions with a speed and efficiency which had amazed many disinterested visitors. While not

one of us would disclaim our due share of responsibility for these tragedies, and it is agreed that these have brought shame and disgrace to India, there can scarcely be any doubt that, in the ultimate analysis, a very large part of the blame must attach to the divide and rule policy followed with such masterly activity by Mr. Churchill himself and so faithfully implemented by his agents and Europeans of his way of thinking in this country, whether under his regime or that of his predecessors. No dispassionate student of the recent history of India can fail to be convinced that the partition of the country and attendant disasters were brought about by the disruptive activities of the group of which Mr. Churchill was the inspiration and the spokesman. Thus, for these tragedies it is Mr. Churchill and his henchmen who have also to answer before the bar of history.

It is not clear how far the Tory Party is behind its leader in these acts of indiscretion and unwisdom. Mr. Butler's irrelevant reference to Hyderabad in the foreign affairs debate was the first indication of a section of the Tories still attempting to make capital out of India's troubles. Mr. Churchill's intervention in Parliament, followed up by his speech at a Conservative rally, seems to indicate that at least an attempt is being made to whip up enthusiasm in favour of Britain's one-time "faithful ally" against India. I should like to warn the British public against being taken in by these attempts. The question of Hyderabad can be solved peacefully if the Nizam would shed the utterly mediaeval conception of his rule through a ruling caste chosen almost entirely from a militant minority, and accept the democratic method of consulting and acting in conformity with the wishes of his people expressed through their elected representatives and would recognise the inevitability of the consequences of action and interaction of geographical, economic and other compelling forces on the relationship between Hyderabad and India. But then in order to injure India's interests, these distinguished products of a democratic age would forget the lessons of history and the teachings of democracy and stoop to buttress a regime which still lives in the times that it was born in. If, therefore, disaster

overtakes the fortunes of the Nizam, the responsibility will be elsewhere than on the Indian Dominion. I am glad to know that His Majesty's Government have not fallen a prey to these machinations of Mr. Churchill and his henchmen and have refused to treat the Hyderabad issue otherwise than as one of domestic concern of the Indian Dominion. I would, therefore, appeal to the rank and file of the Tory Party not to be misled by these old-world ideas of some of their leaders, but to extend to the Indian Dominion that goodwill and friendship which are as essential in the British interest as in India's and to sustain and uphold the fine gesture they made in transferring power to Indian hands. It is only in this spirit and not on the malice and venom of Mr. Churchill's tongue that an enduring relationship of friendship, co-operation and collaboration can be built between India and Britain and other Members of the Commonwealth.

GOD'S CREATURES

IT is a year today since Gandhiji's sacred ashes were immersed at the Triveni Sangam and in many other rivers of India. We should keep in mind the lesson we learnt from the way he laid down his life. Let us give thought to the legacy he left to India and the world. His whole life was a book from which we might learn.

During the year that has gone by, many thoughtful people have dwelt upon Gandhiji's personality and analysed it broadly or in detail from many platforms and at many places in India and abroad. But for us, who were with him day and night, it becomes very difficult to talk of these things. Hearts are full and the tongue falters. How inept we were, it occurs to us, that he should have died in such a manner. For him it was a befitting end, for he died holding firmly to his principles and for the good of India and the world.

To do or die was a rule of life with him. He always picked the noblest things on which to stake his life, and when he died, he had not an enemy in the world. With one voice, the world acclaimed him as the greatest and purest of his times. It was a great end for him, but it came when the world needed him most. For us, particularly, it was a bitter blow.

It has been said in every country and every age that great men and noble souls are appreciated most only when they are gone. There have been few men whom the world has honoured so much in their lifetime and who have attracted the devotion and love of so many as Gandhiji. Now that he is gone, this will be all the more pronounced.

When we look back on our lives, we are reminded of what we were and what he made of us, what a revolution he brought into our lives, not in individuals but in tens of millions. His voice reached the ears of so many who had never met him, never even seen him from afar, and it changed their lives. Many held him in awe, thinking of their own shortcomings. But those who approached him at all came away with a sense of enrichment.

His body seemed frail and his voice faint. But it was a voice that pierced to the heart. That voice is stilled for ever, but all that it wanted to say was said in his deeds, his books and his correspondence with innumerable people.

What made people obey him so implicitly? It was because he spoke so plainly. He gave them the essence of all religions. Many sages had explained these things in profound detail and with great scholarship, but that could not affect the people; what Gandhiji said in his homely way did. One reason for this was that what he preached, he practised. Every word was a commitment. Old and young, men and women, all humanity was affected by this. He built his life on simple rules—to remember God at all times, tread the path of truth, love mankind and think of naught but the welfare of all. Smaller men like us could only try to follow in his footsteps as best as we could. This was our only *dharma*.

Today we find our country in difficulties. First of all

we have to understand these difficulties, where we stand and whither we are going. In a way, the country is more peaceful now. We now meet each other and move around freely. Before he died, there was so much communal dissension that such contacts were scarce and difficult in many places. But his martyrdom changed all that. We have begun to forget and forgive, but a change of heart has still to come. This we should recognize. As long as we do not create mutual trust, his aim will not have been achieved.

We have ousted foreign rule, but this alone was not the kind of thing he envisaged. We have not established the kind of rule he wanted. True, we have desisted from advancing on the path of wrong-doing, but we have not yet retraced our steps and started treading the righteous path. This we must now attempt with steadfast hearts. It is a difficult task because it involves acknowledgement of our earlier errors. But that precisely was the noble example which Gandhiji set before the world. Whenever he felt he had made a mistake, he never hesitated to acknowledge it before the world. Even if we do not do it so publicly, let us at least admit our mistakes in our own hearts, assess their magnitude, probe the reasons why he had to go from our midst. Otherwise, it is no use our assembling here like this in such large numbers to remember him.

It is our duty today to think about all this, to pledge ourselves to live with all Indians as brothers and cease to bear anyone a grudge. Whatever our community, all of us—Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Parsis, Christians—should remember that we belong to one country. Let us forget the past. This is our country in which was born the world's greatest man who gave us prestige in the world. We should not throw away the valuable heritage we have derived from him. Rather we should invest it and augment it.

As we meet at this sacred spot today, let our devotion and love for him take concrete shape; let us forget the past, let us pledge to get together and create in India an atmosphere of amity in which we will need no police, no Government. Let us all recognize like Gandhiji that we are creatures of one God, subjects of one divine king. Amongst us there

should be no touchables and untouchables. Let there be no distinction of high and low, because our souls are all sharers in Godhood. God bless you.

FIRST INDIAN GOVERNOR-GENERAL

I CONSIDER it a great honour to be associated with this function in which you have asked me to unveil the portrait of a life-long friend and colleague of mine. It is not easy to enumerate in a few sentences the life's work of a great man. I have been with him in public life from the beginning. For 30 years we have been struggling together, and although occasions have sometime arisen when we have differed, it has never made the slightest difference to our mutual regard or affection, love and admiration.

Shri Rajagopalachari is an acknowledged leader of our country and a great and wise statesman. It is our good fortune that, in a period of crisis, we have one on whom we can rely for advice and counsel. It was he who laid the foundations of parliamentary life from Madras. Those were the days when doubts were expressed about the capacity of our people to carry on the work of administration efficiently; when there were others to watch us; not only to watch but to put us down also, if need be. Today we are in a different position. We are masters in our own house, in our own country. It is for us now to make or mar our future. The future of this country depends upon how we behave today, tomorrow and in the near future. It is our great good fortune that a great administrator, a wise statesman and a great patriot is at the helm of our affairs. Some people remark that he is a constitutional Governor-General. Of course, in a democracy everything is governed by the constitution. But it is also influenced by the moral force which we have inherited from the great leader who was responsible for freeing us from

Speech while unveiling a portrait of Shri C. Rajagopalachari, Madras, February 22, 1949

bondage. Therefore let there be no mistaking a constitutional Governor-General for a cipher. Shri Rajagopalachari knows how a constitutional Governor-General should behave; he knows how to fit himself within the limits and yet how to break the limits when appropriate. It is a great honour to have such a Governor-General, the first Indian in our free country, a great man of very high moral stature and great ability.

Some people think that a Governor-General's position is enviable. Rajaji perhaps thinks he felt happier when he was in prison, when there were no cares and no burdens. In a prison cell, he might have felt more relieved than in that big palace which continuously oppresses men like him. A man who is used to leading an ascetic life has been compelled to stay in a place where the walls would oppress him, where the surroundings and the paraphernalia would continuously oppress him; but he has been compelled to accept that position and he can do it because he is full of humility, full of humour, tact and good sense. He has done his duty in a manner which excites the admiration of all our countrymen as well as the number of foreigners, businessmen and diplomats who come as our guests. Let us hope that he lives long to help and guide this country to stability, so that future generations can say that in the period of crises the burden was put upon right shoulders.

ALL RELIGIONS ARE GOOD

IMUST first thank you for the great honour conferred on me. I have been feeling rather diffident about accepting this University degree. My education has been in the University of life. I have learnt something from experience. But whether I am deserving of a degree from such an august institution which has assimilated and synthesized so much of ancient Indian cultures, I do not know. If we had all

Address to students of Osmania University, Hyderabad, February 27, 1949

synthesized our various cultures in our own hearts, as this University has done, the shape of things in India could have been different. To those who have been educated here and who are receiving their degrees today, I would respectfully submit that a great duty devolves upon them. They have publicly pledged themselves today to try to make themselves deserving of their degrees and continue to do so all their lives. If so many young people truly make such an effort, I am confident India's future will be bright.

Let us drop the curtain on the past. Our future is now in our own hands. God alone knows how we will shape it. But the forty million of His creatures who call themselves Mussalmans and the 300 million others who are also His creatures have to live together. India's future—and let me say the future of Pakistan too—is to be shaped by the people who were born out of this earth, will live on this earth and will merge into this earth again. As Gandhiji taught us, we must imbibe all that is best in all religions. All religions are good. We have only to filter out the many evils which we have introduced into religions, knowingly or unknowingly. In all humility, we should seek out our role and our duty in this land of our birth and education. We should seek God's grace to rid us of mistakes such as we have committed in the past. We will deserve our degrees if we learn to live as brothers and true citizens of India, doing deeds which redound to India's credit.

The Vice-Chancellor has said some nice things about me. I only know that I wish to remain a loyal soldier of India. May God end my life if I deviate a step from this loyalty. A man's life can be evaluated only after he is dead, for few men have reached a stage where they can be sure they will commit no mistakes till the end of their days. Whatever we manage to achieve in our lives is not much to boast about. Man is but an instrument in the hands of divinity. For an awakened man it becomes his duty to pray and work in such a way as to avoid errors. Therefore, see that you do nothing which is a blot on the country's good name. Let every act of yours redound to India's credit. Let the world see that India's youth have changed with Independence and

are inheritors of India's ancient culture. The malaise that has seeped into the universities today, leading to retrogressive, barren, internecine strife, is a denial of our ancient culture and will do us no good. I and you have received our degrees today. Let us endeavour to deserve them. God bless you all.

WIN POPULAR AFFECTION

THERE have been many developments in the country and the world since your parade last year. India's new Constitution has come into effect this year. Today you are policemen of a free country. You have shouldered heavy responsibilities in the last three years. Much labour went into restoring the police force which had disintegrated; but now your strength and organisation have been restored, for which I congratulate you.

Delhi has been a difficult city to police for various reasons, but the way you have functioned amidst troubles calls for commendation. The prestige of the Government and the honour of the people depends to a great extent on the police. Your job is onerous, your responsibilities heavy, but it is an honourable job. It should be a great honour to be protectors of the life and property of lakhs of people.

This work can be done to some extent with the help of guns and batons, but the police can function really well only by winning the affection of the people. The more affection the people give us, the easier is our task. Whatever the provocation, I would appeal to you to remain cool. It is the prime duty of the police. He who loses his temper no longer remains a policeman. Those who are involved in wrongdoing or lose self-control should be treated as a doctor would treat the insane or the ill. That is the only way to gain increasing affection from the people. Everyone, from the youngest to the oldest, should be dealt with courteously

but firmly. Your success in your work will bring honour to the Government and the people.

We are heirs to a rather unfortunate tradition when the police had a bad reputation because of the conditions in which they worked. Whatever the reasons, there was no co-operation between the police and the people, and the alien rulers ordered them about. The police and the services were also believed by the people to be corrupt. This evil reputation has to be purged. No matter how big the temptation, never do what is wrong. Live on whatever you earn with the sweat of your brow. Only thus will you find favour with God, affection from the people and the fulfilment of your desires. May God give you the goodwill of those you serve. Delhi is the capital of India. The police of the capital should stand out in its work and its prestige. To ensure this we should do nothing which blots our name.

TRIBUTE TO SWAMI DAYANAND

SWAMI Dayanand Saraswati came from Gujarat and spread his message of uplift of all India throughout the country. Swamiji, like Gandhiji, was born in Gujarat; but they both belonged to the whole of India, rather to the whole world. This was because they lived up to their convictions.

The centre of the Arya Samaj was formerly at Lahore, but now it has shifted to Delhi. The cream of the Arya Samaj is in Delhi. There are many learned people here who have studied Swamiji's life and his teachings. They can preach about his teachings better than myself.

Swamiji was born at a time when people were losing their faith in the Hindu religion and were being converted to other faiths; foreign missionaries were trying to supplant the local religion. In India, however, whenever there has been an encroachment on the ancient religion, some great

soul has come to its rescue. It was at a critical period in the life of the Hindu religion that Swamiji's river of knowledge began to flow to enrich the world.

You know that Hinduism was full of superstitions at that time and ignorance was spreading in the guise of religion. A unique and rapid transformation was brought about by Swamiji. As Gandhiji did later, Swamiji tried to remove untouchability which has been a great blot on Hindu religion. The culmination of their efforts was reached in the inclusion of the clause relating to the removal of untouchability in our Constitution. The lead in this direction was given by Swamiji. He traversed a very difficult path. Many people opposed him. Gandhiji had these difficulties reduced through the power and strength of the Congress.

Swamiji's efforts led to the stoppage of the conversion of lakhs of people to other faiths. Swamiji also worked hard to bring back to the Hindu fold those who had been forcibly converted to other faiths. Forcible conversions are against the tenets of the Hindu religion. This has been a boon to India. Swamiji removed the clouds of doubt in which the Hindu religion was enveloped and made it shine like the sun.

If we want to develop the indigenous culture of our country, there is no need for any foreign language. We do not require the medium of any foreign language to impart the Vedic knowledge. Knowledge can be had through any language. But, after all, as Swamiji has said, the world is one. There may be different languages and various divisions, but ultimately there is world unity.

Today the world is passing through a crisis. A fierce war is going on in Korea, as if between two big camps. There is now the fear of a third world war. India was partitioned and you have suffered the most. On the other side, a peaceful country like Tibet has been invaded and it may not survive. We did not think this would happen. We were maintaining friendly relations with China. Some other countries even started misunderstanding us on account of these friendly relations. But China did not accept our advice. We do not know what will be the outcome of this. Tibet is a religious-

mind country. There has been no aggression from its side. But when one is intoxicated with power, one does not realise what one is doing. We tell people not to use force of arms. If armed conflict occurs at one place, it spreads elsewhere. The whole border becomes exposed to danger. We should, therefore, be vigilant.

Swamiji taught that we should shed the fear complex and be united so as to be able to protect ourselves. Gandhiji also said that our non-violence should not be that of cowards. India is a three-year-old infant. Fires are raging on all sides. We should be fearless and protect our country, by non-violence if possible but by violence if necessary. The present times demand unity amongst us, unity born of love and goodwill, so that we may effectively protect our country.

ON LALA LAJPAT RAI

THERE have been few leaders and patriots in history to match Lala Lajpat Rai in influence, fearlessness and devotion. He was rightly known during his lifetime as the Lion of Punjab because of his bravery, fervour and strength. These qualities he combined with tenderness of heart, a liberal outlook and a penchant for truth. I remember his great qualities and feel sorry that there is none today to fill his place. How much the country needs him today can be judged from the present state of the country.

There are people amidst us today who forget their own defects and try to correct other people's defects. There are many who find it expedient to hide their trespasses by joining the multitudes crying "thief, thief." They forget their own past and try to invent a history for others. Perhaps they depend on the short memory of the populace to forget the facts and accept their version. They forget that the masses have their own ways and means of assessing every individual. No one can rise in public estimation by singing

one's own praises. A man's smallness becomes evident in his acts and inclinations when he tries to cloak his selfishness in a garb of benevolence. An atmosphere prevails in India today in which futile criticism of others and attacks on other people's ideals and motives are equated with service of the nation.

I have no doubt about the fate of those who are thus striking at the very root of national life. Nor is there any scope for doubt. I am confident that the nation's heart is pure and sound. Those who consider the people ignorant are deluding themselves. In a short time, the true and the false will be sifted out. The roar of a lion like Lala Lajpat Rai would have awakened the country quickly at such a juncture. His verve and vigour would have created an atmosphere in which people could well understand their duty and act with the same devotion and affection as Lalaji did in his own lifetime.

The scope for service to the nation is not less in India today than it was before. Then we saw only one danger facing us—slavery. Today there are many dangers to face but I see few signs of the alertness and fearlessness with which we faced the previous danger. We have forgotten the big threats and got so involved in small pursuits that we run the risk of becoming too weak to fight the real threats. The country needs people of Lala Lajpat Rai's intrepidity and self-sacrifice to alert India against those threats and arouse a wave of enthusiasm to overcome the dangers.

I appeal to all of you to keep Lalaji's ideal example before you, ponder on the situation today, understand your duty and act accordingly.

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